

THE ROLE OF REFLECTIVE PRACTICE IN EDUCATING ABOUT RACE, IDENTITY AND DIFFERENCE

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ABSTRACT

This thesis sets out to examine how the supposed 'transformative' qualities of reflective practice that are cited largely uncritically in education and health literature, viewed as a panacea, might be applied to race and difference. Central to this is the work of Donald Schön on reflection-in-action, which elevates practice above theoretical knowledge that Schön casts as a product of 'technical rationality', influenced by the growth of higher education. Schön's work through its pre-eminence on action gained much greater exposure, in contrast to Boud and Mezirow who placed a greater emphasis on the role of emotion and through this to draw attention to differing types of knowledge offering more holistic ways of knowing.

The study is influenced by critical lenses from institutional ethnography (Smith 1987, 1990, 2005, 2006) and critical race theory (Delgado and Stefancic 2001) that draw on intersectionality in drawing up nuanced constructions of race and difference embedded in 'texts' forming everyday racism and sexism in the workplace, preventing educators from actively opposing institutionally discriminatory practices. Work on race, viewed in this study as a series of moments, has most recently seen the ascendancy of post-racism, suggesting that 'authentic' racism is a relic of the past. This has accelerated the stripping of critical spaces to examine race in education, both for trainees and also current practitioners. Work on race and difference in particular though needs to produce critical examinations of structure and agency in work settings. Space, resources and expertise for this are being denied, replaced by simplistic calls for an uncritical 'meritocracy' in education underpinned by a neo-liberal managerialist approach, focusing on efficiency and achievement discourses.

Both IE and CRT build data from the ground up using informant perspectives to map the flows of power rather than through a 'sociological' critique of policy to produce narratives examining how 'ruling relations' are embedded in everyday taken for granted work processes. Drawing on visual methods, as well as interviews and observations this study produced rich, deeply descriptive data to uncover ruling relations, evidenced in policy as well as everyday practice. Methodological reflexivity produced a critique of the use of NVIVO as a data processing and reducing tool. Increasingly regarded as an indispensable part of the qualitative researcher's 'kit', it leads to a predilection for grounded theory and therefore misses more nuanced readings of data.

'I-poems' provided entry to power relations of race, gender, age, class and religion in the settings via a richer alternative hermeneutic process. Producing narratives which gave access to emotions in the workplace and in relation to race highlighted how the presence of bureaucratic systems for 'handling' difference and the presence of multicultural 'performance', a facet of post-race work have resulted in producing an illusion of 'race work' with little informed examination, buttressed by strong, emotional constructs. This results in reflection being used for solitary, internal contemplation as a palliative rather than being a site of collaborative, critically informed, transformative action.

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It is not easy to begin closure on one of the most taxing academic journeys that one can make. I hope above all that it begins to contribute to the reclaiming of collaborative reflection to bring support and critical insight for education and community practitioners. The educative power of many is creative, compelling and crucially needs rehabilitation from the individualised pathways presently being carved out, as one of my favourite Freire quotes, suggests, “If the structure does not permit dialogue the structure must be changed”.

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GLOSSARY

3Ss	Saris, Steel Bands and Samosas
ACT	Anonymised Voluntary Education/Arts Organisation
AERA	American Education Research Association
ALTARF	All London Teachers Against Racism and Fascism
ARTEN	Anti-Racist Teacher Education Network
AYM	Asian Youth Movement
BACP	British Association of Counselling and Psychotherapy
BERA	British Education Research Association
BME	Black and Minority Ethnic
BNP	British National Party
BPM	Black Parents Movement
BSA	British Sociological Association
CAQDAS	Computer-Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software
CEHR	Commission for Equality and Human Rights
CPD	Continuing Professional Development
CRT	Critical Race Theory
CT	Critical Theory
CPVE	Certificate of Pre-Vocational Education
DCSF	Department of Children, Schools and Families
DES	Department of Education and Science
DfE	Department for Education
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
DoE	Department of Education
EDL	English Defence League
EMAG	Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant
EMTAG	Ethnic Minority and Traveller Achievement Grant
EIC	Excellence in Cities
ETRP	Educating the Reflective Practitioner
GLC	Greater London Council
GT	Grounded Theory
GTC	General Teachers' Council
GTCNI	General Teachers' Council of Northern Ireland
HE	Higher Education

HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
HLTA	Higher Level Teaching Assistant
HND	Higher National Diploma
ICOCO	Institute for Community Cohesion
IE	Institutional Ethnography
ILEA	Inner London Education Authority
IMD	Index of Multiple Deprivation
IRB	Institutional Regulatory Board
ITE	Initial Teacher Education
ITT	Initial Teacher Training
IPA	Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis
LGBT	(See p6)
LEA	Local Education Authority
NAME	National Anti-Racist Movement in Education
NSCSL	National College for School Leadership
NPM	New Public Management
NM	New Managerialism
NPQH	National Professional Qualification for Headship
NQT	Newly Qualified Teacher
NUT	National Union of Teachers
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education
OWAAD	Organisation of Women of African and Asian Descent
PGCE	Post-Graduate Certificate of Education
PSED	Public Sector Equality Duty
PVE	Preventing Violent Extremism
RP	Reflective Practice
RRA	Race Relations Act
SEAL	Social and Emotional Aspects of Literacy
SEF	Self-Evaluation Form
TA	Teaching Assistant
TDA	Teacher Development Agency
TTA	Teacher Training Agency
TRP	The Reflective Practitioner

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CHAPTER ONE

MAPPING OUT THE QUEST PERSONAL PUZZLES

“It took me a long time to realise that there are two kinds of writing; the one you write and the one that writes you. The one that writes you is dangerous. You go where you don’t want to go. You look where you don’t want to look.”

(Winterson 2012, p54)

This thesis examines how reflective practice (RP) impacts in education on race, identity and difference. Since the 1990s, RP seems to have become ubiquitous, not only in teaching but also in social work, youth work, nursing and health-related occupations. RP has generated many claims about its efficacy, is viewed as a panacea in tackling professional problems and for engaging with difference. A major champion of RP, Donald Schön sees ‘shocks’ and ‘puzzles’ in professional life as triggering action. This study shows that this suggested mechanistic response underplays the emotional situation present in education settings. In particular RP is popularly held to have a transformative ‘promise’ (Boyd and Fales 1983; Boud et al 1985; Mezirow 1981; Jarvis 1992; Brookfield 1995; Larrivee 2000; Fook and Askeland 2006), providing a key motivation for teachers both personally and professionally in relation to social justice and equality. Questions though emerge about how this educational technology potentially affects learning about race and difference in order to try to deepen understanding of the possibilities of schools as sites of personal and social transformation.

Whilst my own personal experiences of reflection have I feel been very positive, it seems both errant and narcissistic to assume that these are directly transferrable to others. My departure from school teaching into youth work after three years suggested that I had given up on teaching. However working firstly on race issues in youth work and later with disengaged pupils in partnership with schools and teachers, I was interested in how the progression that took place for myself had

made me a stronger educator. The process of reflection is central to youth work, which in the 1990s was valued and central to practice as space, networks, time and resources became allocated. As I worked more closely with schools in the New Labour years from 1997-2004 I found myself acting as a confidante to many of the teachers that I worked with. Although an outsider, often I became privileged to deep discussions about schools, pedagogy and education.

This remained with me when I later entered HE as lecturer then began my postgraduate studies and struggled to understand how best to motivate professionals who worked consummately at their craft but more often than not found that they were unable to reach the standards that they had set themselves. My own strengths particularly in relation to difference had come through support and commitment from my colleagues; a close relationship with the young people that I worked with; and through being given freedom over my pedagogic methods. Given the growing presence of RP in teaching after my departure in the late eighties, mapped out in chapter two and having experienced much personal growth through reflection in informal education I wanted to understand whether RP could live up to its promise and which if any aspects were transferrable.

All doctoral studies involve deep puzzles and what Winterson describes as ‘dangerous’ writing, can readily be applied to this thesis. The exhortation to improve ‘teaching’ has grown more shrill of late suggesting that particular techniques will enhance learning, even while post-modernists critique the possibilities of a teleological improvement in which ‘schooling’ as opposed to ‘education’ (Giroux 2005) critiques as producing performing subject pupils rather than free-thinking individuals.

“schools have strayed too far from the logic of capital, and because of this, are now held responsible for the economic recession of the 1970s, for the loss of foreign markets to international competitors, and for the shortage of trained workers for an increasingly complex technological economy” (Giroux 2005, p113).

The search for ‘better’ learning and teaching therefore is a perennial. However, this study is not just interested in whether RP ‘improves’ practice but also to understand the historical, social and material conditions which surround it. Dangerous writing therefore cannot be avoided and having to “look where you don’t want to look” (op.

cit.) requires an examination of the process of ‘looking’ with a clear explication of the methodological and theoretical lenses, particularly as reflection is essentially an ‘ideal’ and therefore hidden process, this makes deep demands on interpretive processes. As Colley reminds us, there is no “golden key” to research (2010) and shows that ‘research’ as well as writing, can be dangerous. Accompanied by a similar compunction this requires the devisal of new ways of looking at ‘data’ and therefore from the outset requires a qualitative exploratory approach. Of necessity is also the use of Critical Theory that will be expanded on later but as Canella and Lincoln (2009, p54) highlight, for researchers this involves looking at hidden structures of power, paying close attention to language and discourse; to examine social divisions and their intersections; and detailed consideration of the positionality of the researcher.

Particularly with regard to race, there has been much contestation over the supposed agentic powers of teacher as they attempt to overcome “white privilege” (Lander 2011, p354). This will be critically examined drawing on the influence of institutional ethnography (Smith 1989, 1990, 1999, 2005), which sets out to reveal how organisational power orchestrates individuals through practices of ‘ruling relations’ (Campbell and Gregor 2002), developed from Smith’s work on feminist standpoint. Despite the claimed ‘revolutionary’ potential for RP this thesis investigates how its practice may be a site of control.

1.1. STARTING AT BASE-CAMP AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND MOTIVATIONS

While doctoral theses are widely seen as offering possibilities of knowledge transformation, a theme that runs through this thesis, they are also essentially a transformation of the self and begins with my own back-story, to sketch out briefly the ‘base-camp’.

Although there is an onus to present a detached and objective account, the doctoral journey is riven with the personal. My journey began many years even before I knew it. I had never felt fully a part of my school, as one of only four Asian entrants to an all-white grammar school in the mid-seventies at the age of eleven. I faced

racist bullying and occasional violence until I reached the sixth form. I often frequented the library as a 'safe' haven during lunch breaks. Although studying maths and physics, I became drawn to reading *New Society*¹, a weekly sociology magazine. A growing awareness of the trade union movement, feminism, apartheid and the threat of the nuclear arms race, were perhaps similar to those of my white compatriots but also markedly different due to my South Asian heritage. Grunwick² particularly (McDowell 2013) stuck in my consciousness, gaining coverage in the national television news which at the time was normally bereft of non-white faces, as sari-clad demonstrators stood on the picket lines. Reading Wilson's (1978) landmark study *Finding a Voice*, a seminal work at the age of sixteen with an early Black feminist perspective had left an indelible mark, making me realise the complexities of gender as well. I still fondly recall the warm welcome and attention I was given, at a university student OWAAD³ meeting in 1981. Which first raised the notions of praxis, as complexities of gender, race and class began to be unpicked. Made to feel very welcome by a group of mainly African-Caribbean women whom I had never met before, this safe warm but critical space, laid the foundations as I was enabled to unpack 'identity' through challenge, debate and suggestions for reading. The importance of access to Black intellectual spaces has been remarked on by Warmington (2012, 2014), where in the UK, separate from the US it has failed to achieve clear recognition. For myself as I reflect back, these early experiences and reading gave me free rein and confidence to debate as I learnt new ideas that helped to explain exclusion and provided a cursory but positive nascent introduction to Black intellectual space for reflection.

My feelings of exclusion ran deep and when I should have been reading for my finals in a mathematics degree, instead of focusing on numbers, symbols and sequences, I found myself turning rather to words, narratives and social theory, in

¹ New Society was weekly social science magazine with a left-wing readership base. It ceased circulation in 1988 and became absorbed into New Statesman.

² Grunwick was a seminal struggle for Black trade union movement where a largely female and Asian workforce went on strike. Wilson (1978) produces a useful overview.

³ The Organisation of Women of African and Asian Descent (OWAAD) was a radical Black feminist organisation that was extant from 1978-83 (Fisher 2012). Although short-lived it embraced unity for non-white Feminists in the UK and many of the members are still active politically

particular by reading *Race Today*⁴. Following graduation and after a gap year as a youth worker, I began a PGCE, where I developed a growing awareness of anti-racist education, even though I was training to teach mathematics. I noticed that I was not alone in this and found many of my Asian and Black student compatriots struggling to understand their identities. Many of the former were well-informed about the Bradford 12 and the AYM⁵ which had a marginal presence on the political scenes of the 1980s. Seen as subversive (e.g. Black sections see Jeffers (1991)), struggles like these are almost absent from political history yet were seminal for the development of a Black political class. Bernie Grant, Diane Abbot, Paul Boateng and Keith Vaz the first modern day Black MPs, were only brought to the fore by their radical activism and the use of Identity politics (Section 3.2.3)

As a trainee teacher, I became aware of the deep failure of formal education to reach Black young men due to institutionalised racism (Coard 1971; Stone 1981). Also of the ideological bases and conflicts between multicultural and anti-racist education in vogue at the time (Mullard 1985; Sivanandan 1985; Troyna 1987); and from early Black feminist writing of how racism and sexism were entwined themselves in structural systems (Wilson 1978, hooks 1985, Bryan et al 1985). This set the stall for later work on intersectionality (Crenshaw 1991, Hill-Collins 1990, 1993). I became enthused and threw myself into my studies as I fused race with the maths curriculum looking at multicultural and anti-racist mathematics. (Joseph 1986, 1990) giving me a breadth and depth of how race ‘work’ could be informed by social theory and carried out in seemingly unconnected fields.

PERSONAL SHOCKS AND PUZZLES

Marked by a terrible incident, my second week in school teaching had coincided with the murder of a Bangladeshi schoolboy, Ahmed Iqbal Ullah (MacDonald et al 1989) in a playground only a few miles from where I taught. This compelled me further to see my career as a vocation, adding for me a moral imperative as one of the then few Asian teachers in the authority, but eventually found myself moving

⁴ Race Today was a radical Black monthly magazine published initially by the Institute for Race Relations, later by the Race Today collective. It ceased publication in 1988. A key figure was John La Rose a leading member of the Black Parents Movement (BPM).

⁵ Asian Youth Movement – See Ramamurthy (2013)

from teaching into youth work because my experience of formal education as a teacher failed for me to match up to its transformative ‘promise’. Rapidly, I found that the supervisory processes and reflective approaches in youth work (Tash 1967; Smith 1988; Kadushin 2002) gave me succour, provided challenge and a greater sense of agency while also making me question my values and beliefs. I became aware of the work of Freire (1978) hooks (1987) and later Marx (1946, 1975, 1976) beginning to grasp the theoretical grounding of ‘liberatory’ education but as an activist rather than as a scholar, encouraged in my reading not by academics but by my work colleagues and managers.

Particularly in response to racist murders in Manchester, I became involved in political campaigns in the early nineties. The complexities of intersectionality initiated by Wilson’s (1978) influence began to emerge as differing groups came together to form alliances, this included anti-deportation campaigns, L&G⁶ groups (The “B” and “T” were not yet in evidence), and various left leaning campaigning groups. Fuelled by my practice of informal education and starting to combine it with the work of Freire, I became aware of the subtle (and not so subtle) divisions that separate groups but still allow them to unify. It was these formative experiences, which laid the foundations of my doctoral journey, as I strove to become a better ‘informal’ educator, though as Colley and Hodgkinson (2003) point out, the differences with more formal learning are often overplayed. In this way, my practice as a youth and community worker was invaluable in working out how best to address issues of difference as I became involved in dialogue with young people and communities about how to tackle difference.

This immersion in a broad range of identity politics and exposure to critical reflective spaces both in work and in political campaigns, supported by reading, led to a desire to put this to work with communities and young people through praxis. Key for me was the process of developmental supervision (See chapter 2) and I

⁶ The acronym LGBT stands for Lesbian, Gay, Bi-Sexual and Transgender. Also used is LGBTQ, with Q denoting Queer (or sometimes questioning), its evolution from LGB shows the complexity of the development of the ‘other’ in relation to sexuality labels as language attempts to keep up.

began to realise how the process of reflection and critical engagement could improve my practice to enact change.

Later on in my career, I came to work in partnership with teachers to undertake curriculum development with creative practitioners drawing on the skills I had gained as a youth worker and worked closely with teachers to develop projects. Although viewed initially with suspicion, once they had overcome their initial worries, I often became their confidante and privy to their concerns. Not only about how to create memorable pieces of learning but their worries about the practicalities of teaching and the ways in which structures such as the national curriculum, targets and how the weaknesses and communications in partnership working (Patel 2010) could be stifling. Echoing the process of ‘elenchus’ (See chapter Two), providing informal supervision and reflection, I worked with committed but often harassed and overworked teachers. I became interested in how power in education settings prevented well-meaning professionals achieving agency.

Thus two puzzles emerged for me firstly why was it that some teachers felt more committed to the practice of equality than others and secondly, why was it that teachers felt disempowered by structures and procedures but felt compelled to work with them to the best of their ability, rather than to change them?

Following this, I became a HE lecturer in youth and community work where I had to teach reflective practice, support students to write reflective journals and draw on them to aid professional development. In this way, I began to study reflection despite never having undertaken an examination of it in my own teacher training; embedded rather from my own practice of youth work supervision. My early recordings made in training had been so influential in making sense of practice accompanied by a critique of political structures and personal agency. I realised only some fifteen years after the events how crucial these small interactions had been in my own development and allowed me to apply theory to practice in a wide-variety of education environments, schools, youth and community work and HE. This catalysed a need in me to build this enquiry to see what sense I could make of the potential of RP to be transformative with regard to race.

Inevitably, motivations are embedded in our histories, in my Masters' thesis (Patel 2007) I wrote the following

“We discipline our bodies through reflection to make them acceptable and project our desired vision rather than the inner, messier version that exists”

While for me, the dominant narrative of transformative education, could only be arrived at by a critical approach, aided by theoretical lens emanating from the Frankfurt school and its successors on race, gender, class and sexuality. I realised that this was not effective for everyone. I needed to unpick the ‘messiness’ to see what if anything, was offered in relation by critiquing the inherent power relations within social divisions. I found that the fluctuations of critical theorists fascinating and relished the challenges provided by changes in culture. CT eschews hard and fast definitions. Rather there is a need for a meta-stability, which is dependent upon social circumstances

"Unlike positivist social theory however, which separates social facts from values, and claims to be value-neutral, critical theory denies that social theory must accede to the given. Social description and explanation must be critical, that is, aim to evaluate the given in normative terms. Without such a critical stance, many questions about what occurs in a society and why, who benefits and who is harmed, will not be asked and social theory is liable to reaffirm and reify the given social reality." (Young 1990, p5)

Particularly problematic for me is the notion of difference in education and how it is addressed, while I have recounted my transition to youth work from school mathematics teaching so far very simply, the circumstances and motivations were perhaps more complex.

Although I had a full-time teaching job, I was carrying out youth work, three evenings a week and at weekends and felt torn between both careers. I enjoyed teaching and developing lesson plans regardless of the subject area. However, the head of department Angela in my first post at a sixth form college would not let me teach A-level despite my mathematics degree. I was allocated five 16+ classes⁷ and a single O-Level class. She asked me to leave at the end of the first year, suggesting that it would suit my career development, adding that I had only been taken on, as

⁷A pre-cursor to GCSE

the college had, “enrolled unexpectedly large numbers”. I stayed on with the encouragement of the head, who was keen to have at least one non-white teacher in the college and I felt valued, as I was involved in multicultural work and teaching CPVE.

In my second year, I was elected to a school board, as part of a reorganisation that the deputy head had set up, as a more 'representative' voice as part of his MA in education management and in vogue with democratic management structures at the time. When Angela found herself displaced in the larger Science and Maths faculty, she was livid. She openly expressed dissatisfaction that a junior member of staff, like myself, was on the board in preference to herself. Later in the year, she again asked me to leave for another post, adding that I would not be given A-level classes as it was, "too much of a risk".

Much later after I had left, I found out that the college took on a direct replacement for me. I met my colleague Trevor, who told me that when Angela had been presented with just my name, without other details prior to interview, by the school office, she had turned to the mathematics staff team and said, "I've been given this Patel. I bet he has a degree from the University of Punjab". I had almost forgotten this event but as chapter seven shows, the everyday racism (Essed 1991) reflected in managerial judgements can have far-reaching impacts on the career path of staff. Whilst I felt unable to take this up, as I was getting married, I am not sure what I would have done, had it been revealed, earlier.

In contrast, in youth and community work, I was being encouraged actively by managers to move into the profession full-time. Along with other Black part-time staff, we were given special training and resources to examine youth work career development, providing the “Black intellectual spaces” (Warmington 2014) that I now realise were a powerful force for my professional as well as personal development. Had they been present in teaching to as great an extent, this would perhaps have encouraged me to stay in the profession. We were provided with mentors for 'off-line' supervision (Tsui 2004, p37) giving opportunities for challenge and reflection and who developed action to broaden our experiences, knowledge, confidence and thereby increasing our employability.

My personal and professional experiences of being encouraged to undertake RP and given supervision⁸ as a youth worker was for myself an enlightening and very humanistic process. It helped me to make sense of having a South Asian identity located in a Black political one and to endeavour to locate myself professionally. It also provided access to many critical reflective spaces and this led to me wanting to unravel the potential of RP to gauge its effectiveness. Held up as a conduit for this for over thirty years in ITE (see for example Pollard and Collins 2005), amongst other methods, is the application of RP. It also increasingly inhabits other professions (Section 2.3.1). I had been afforded access to a range of other experiences as a youth worker and teacher that ‘opened’ up the spaces, which the moves to return to colour-blind approaches (Lall and Gillborn 2004), seemed to have closed down. My experiences of working with teachers (Patel 2010), had shown how disillusioned some of them had become and I therefore wanted to see whether the structural policy mechanisms, training and work practices allow educators to develop their own critical spaces and to see how effective they might be.

1.2 REFLECTION – WHAT IS IT? A ‘SHOCKING’ APPROACH TO PRACTICE?

The above experiences gave me a thirst for enquiry about why the process of supervision and reflection that seemed to work for me and my youth and community students but particularly in teaching seemed difficult to replicate. I wanted therefore to see how concrete practice in education, was being carried out. There appeared to be much rhetoric about reflection but the practice seemed largely absent in my dealings in schools. The work of Donald Schön (1983, 1987) is usually cited in the literature and has been influential in the development of other models of reflection (Kolb 1984; Gibbs 1988; Atkins and Murphy 1994; Johns 1996) often applied within supervision and learning but for which, as this thesis finds, the empirical grounding, particularly in education, is very weak. Schön suggests that professionals

⁸ Supervision in youth and community work and social work Kadushin (2002) has a historical background which sees it not just a tool for administrative concerns for overseeing work targets, but also values equally the supportive and educational aspects which can be derived from the process.

are driven to problem-solve, drawing on their experiences and experiential ‘tacit’ knowledge and claims that this is counter to a technical rational approach which pervades modern professions. This thesis draws up case-studies from education professionals to explore these claims in relation to race work.

While reflective practice via supervision had a strong history in social work and youth and community work, its appearance in formal education in the North American context had had support via Dewey but really took off after the publication of Donald Schön’s second major work *Educating the Reflective Practitioner* (1987a). Having not quite ignited the world of architecture, Schön found a ready audience in teaching followed by his appearance at the AERA in 1987(1987b) and with work in nursing and health (Johns 1988). Subsequently, he became an important spearhead in the almost universal adoption of reflective practice in relation to professional learning having claimed to develop a ‘new epistemology of practice’ (1983). Key to Schön’s thesis was the notion of the professional having tacit knowledge and being triggered into action by ‘shock and puzzlement’ to solve professional problems. This resonated for many professionals, in which ‘tacit’ knowledge acquired as Schön puts it in the “swampy lowlands” of practice (1983, p42) offered a bulwark against mechanistic rote procedures. While this is attractive, Boud et al (1985) and Mezirow (1991), took a more pragmatic and holistic approach which placed greater importance on the role of emotion. This however was not seen as important in teaching, yet had much potential for looking at barriers, examining the social construction of environments and offered opportunities for analysing ‘swamps’, which in race as with other ‘differences’ are common. Work in this area has not been clarified, in many senses it has become even murkier and muddier (See chapter three), adding to my puzzles. In the UK, compared with the US, reflection had received less attention until teacher training moved into higher education, where Dewey (1933) had been a large influence. Menter et al (2010) details how, particularly in the 1980s the notion of the reflective teacher arose and it received more scholarly attention towards the end of this period (See Chapter Two) becoming constructed as a way of ‘connecting theory to practice’ but this begs the question whether race ‘theories’ in education connect via RP and if so how.

The appearance of RP in both teacher education literature and in policy began to escalate (Section 2.2.1) along with many other disciplines including youth and community work, social work, nursing - primarily associated with the helping, caring and education professions. The focus in the latter areas was on an examination of the relationship with clients/learners and involved much greater reflexivity. The foci in teacher education have often been more recently about technique improvement. (Bernstein 2000). More recently Frost (2010) has begun to detail how wider influences including globalisation, informationalism, the emergence of a network society and managerialism have begun to impact on RP. With a much greater focus on effectiveness, Frost sees as a consequence of this an increase in the technologies of surveillance (Foucault 1995) via the flow of information, comparisons with 'international' performances of professionals (Avis 2009) and the structure of the professions, many moving to post-Fordist and neo-Taylorist (Amin 1994, Ball 2007) forms. Zeichner and Liu are sceptical about the claims made for RP

“in reality, reflective teacher education has done very little to foster genuine teacher development and to enhance teachers' roles in educational reform. Instead, an illusion of teacher development has often been created, which has maintained in more subtle ways the subservient position of the teacher”
(2010, p 70)

They point out that while

“Sometimes, the creative intelligence of the teacher is permitted to intervene to determine the situational appropriateness of employing particular teaching strategies and materials, but often it is not.” (ibid)

I argue that the operation of reflective practice is shifting and the focus of professional rubrics, (e.g. TDA 2007, 2010; DoE 2012) seem to be on skills rather than knowledge. For work around difference the consequences of context independent critiques, potentially place more emphasis on personal limited agency than on an understanding of structural factors. Thus, there is a need to explore how practice and policy around race and difference impact on RP.

1.3 THE RESEARCH AIMS

Having briefly sketched the backdrop to RP in education, the promise it offers and some of the ways in which practices have become developed and ordered the following aims were adopted at the outset

- To identify how educators, in both formal and informal learning settings, respond to issues of race and identity
- To establish the extent and nature of reflective practice within these responses
- To deepen understanding of how these responses inform educators' future practice
- To contribute to theoretical critiques of reflective practice through the application of critical theory

These key problems require an approach that is exploratory rather than explanatory. Considerations of power are essential as the aspirations of many practitioners to do 'race work' often fall shy of their practice. Underlining the importance of critical theory lenses which Gunaratnam suggests require

“a 'doubled' research practice that is capable of working both with and against racialized categories, and which is able to make links between lived experience, political relations and the production of knowledge” (Gunaratnam 2003, p23)

This thesis does not accept or analyse material at 'face' value and this necessitates methods which draws on material practices to explicate the tensions and relationships to explore how wider structural forces impact on RP. Suited to the development of this is a critical approach influenced by the work of the noted feminist author Dorothy Smith (1987, 1990, 2005, 2006). A key influence, Smith is concerned with how well-meaning practitioners can become complicit in "ruling relations" which order their everyday work. For Smith "The problematic of the everyday world", "opens up the possibility of exploring these relations as they really are, of discovering how they work" (1987 p134). DeVault observes how

"the Institutional Ethnographer takes up a point of view in a marginal location; she "looks" carefully and relatively unobtrusively, like any field worker, but she looks from the margins inward-toward centers of power and administration-searching to explicate the contingencies of ruling that shape local contexts" (DeVault 1999, p48)

Particularly in regard to 'shock and puzzlement', this is apposite. There is a need to map the complexity of its social construction in regard to race, which chapter three

shows has its own multiple and changing conceptions, to see how RP may impact on it and this state of liminality provides a useful entry.

Due to resource considerations, this thesis is not an ethnography it does however draw on critical ethnography in order to produce case-studies, which illustrate the social relations of work around race in education settings. It is a deeply interpretive account, guided and founded in the research informants' experiences to demonstrate how structural constraints impact on race. It aims to show how while RP is offered as a panacea for education work, its critical holistic application has lost its edge and is blunted due to mechanistic usage, which results in its use as a therapy rather than a way of guiding scholarly informed knowledge. The following key research questions were taken up over the course of the thesis:-

1. Under what circumstances do issues of race and identity arise for educators, and how do they intersect with other aspects of difference?
2. What are educators' perceptions of these incidents and how do they act in response to them?
3. What experiences do they draw on in order to respond to these incidents?
4. What situational factors do they perceive as influencing their responses?
5. To what extent do emotions of shock and puzzlement shape their response?
6. To what extent do they draw on notions of reflective practice to support their response?
7. How do they construct the notion of reflective practice, and what are the key influences on these constructs?
8. How do these experiences influence the nature of their future practice in relation to issues of race and identity, and other aspects of difference?

1.4 THESIS OVERVIEW

Chapter Two examines the literature on reflection and reflective practice. In particular it critiques the development of Schön's work on artistry, the use of tacit knowledge and his assertion that key to triggering reflection are notions of 'shock and puzzlement' within 'reflection-in-action' (Schön 1985). Despite criticisms of Schön's work (Gilroy 1993; Eraut 1995; Newman 1999; Erlandson 2007), his ideas have become enshrined and applied, in the development of many models of reflection (Kolb 1984; Gibbs 1988; Johns 1996; Rolfe 2001; Pollard and Collins 2005) which have not been empirically tested yet are widely cited in a vast array of professional literature. Other writers principally Boud (1985) and Mezirow (1990)

see the importance particular in the human sciences of exploring the role of emotion. They point out how reflection may be blocked and Issit warns of the dangers of reflection (2003) providing a need to investigate the social construction of shock and puzzlement.

Chapter three examines how whilst critical pedagogy involved a critique of inequalities in education via a consideration of historical and material circumstances to deconstruct and race. Presently 'achievement' discourses place a greater emphasis on the rewards of examination successes such as possible economic wealth and job security are now more prominent and enforced by neo-liberal influences in public education. Important in this chapter are how 'moments' of race, which began with assimilationist approaches moved on to more critical practices to ameliorate racial disparities. The development of the present post-race moment however has brought about a full-circle, where dominant narratives deny the influence and impact of racism. This gives credence to a mythical meritocracy in education, which for teacher identity prevents critique of the over-arching neo-liberal new public management systems that inhabit education practice in the UK. Laying the foundations for the development of reflective practice as one which is seen as a technicist means of improving skills. More active and interventionist means of tackling race holistically in particular have fallen out of favour.

The methodology section has been broken into two chapters. Chapter four details ontological and epistemological issues associated with an examination of shock and puzzlement using a critical realist approach. It examines the development of critical and institutional ethnography that use participant observation in order to tease out situational data. The chapter examines the challenges of looking at race and how shifts from biological to cultural foci, require more nuanced ways of 'tracing' race with a scrutiny of policy to gauge the influence of broader political structural issues, drawing on critical race theory (CRT). It provides an audit of the settings, of the work undertaken and examines ethical dilemmas in supporting informants with regard to race.

The fifth chapter critically examines the problems of analysis and how while NVIVO and other statistical packages offer promise in data reduction. Their

mechanistic application may be leading to a predilection of grounded theory (GT) reflecting its origins as a tool developed for analysing large datasets using GT (Lonkila 1995, p48). It explores validity in relation to visual material and in the final section, 'Turning telling into Knowing' draws on innovative techniques from the 'Listening Guide' (Gilligan et al 2003) using I-poems, to preserve and enhance the voice of the informant and details how the analysis was carried out to produce narratives, demonstrating the benefits of arts-based qualitative analysis.

Chapters six and seven develop narrative case-studies from the key informants, both of whom claim to use reflective approaches to their practice and had an interest in developing work on race. Both the data chapters draw on experiences of shock and puzzlement for the informants. Chapter six focuses on Denise a learning mentor in a primary school who had a background in psychology before coming into education. She was keen to use facilitative and therapeutic interventions with young people and adults. Denise often sought 'safety' and 'comfort' in reflection. She has some responsibility for developing work on race in the school, in practice this was very much '3Ss'⁹ approach (saris, steel bands and samosas). In particular her attendance at a training session on race and at a community cohesion training day provided rich material which show the conflicting policy landscape and how the frameworks in place are prescriptive rather than enabling with little clarity about the implications for leading learning. Responsible for training on community cohesion she had little clear direction, being left to her own devices. She was provided with the Equality Standards (Home Office 2004) but little awareness of how andragogy might be used to best effect to challenge and train the staff.

Tasneem's study is of an experienced Asian primary school teacher working in a multicultural school. Tasneem begins by seeming well motivated but over time she positioned herself as an 'outsider' in the school, in her view this was due to managerial changes rather than her practice. While Tasneem claimed to use reflective practice, this too in common with Denise, became used for respite, often as an 'escape', rather than a place in which to engage with problems actively. Deep interpretive methods with attention to emotion, are used to unpick how her outer

⁹ See Chapter Three for a definition.

bubbly persona is filled with an interior lack of confidence. The case studies also provide an analytic discussion of key themes from the fieldwork, that critiques simplistic approaches to race based on crude Marxist assertions foregrounding class. This is a feature of IE also but more importantly is visible in the narratives on working with difference espoused by the key informants. The prevalence of multicultural work, while giving an appearance of active work on race is largely ineffectual. Similarly the work on standards and then duties in community cohesion while providing a managerialist framework precludes any real engagement by practitioners in a critique, conflates various types of difference and foregrounds monitoring and was present at both sites. This results in a performative, ordered approach to race and a consideration of the emotions shows that rather than being used to guide critical 'action' was resulting in its use as a palliative for shocks and puzzles.

The final chapter moves to a synthesis of the themes from the study. It details the contribution that the thesis makes to knowledge in critiquing Schön's work on reflection-in-action and his underplaying of the emotional aspects of shocks and puzzles. It reveals how critical spaces for race work have become removed from Continuing Professional Development (CPD) and Initial Teacher Education (ITE) in a neo-liberal drive for meritocracy, which suggests that structural factors do not inhibit achievement while removing 'special consideration and resources' for Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) children. It highlights methodological innovation in using I-poems as a powerful hermeneutic tool and provides a critique of NVIVO software, rapidly becoming regarded, as an indispensable tool for qualitative analysis. The chapter outlines the problems of striving for 'certainty' in the research process. Finally, it provides key recommendations before closing with a reflection on the doctoral journey.

1.5 SUMMARY

This thesis will explore the notion of ‘shock and puzzlement’ in relation to race. While RP has been presented as aiding practitioner agency, the move to a reductionist practice neglects the social, which can enable educators to better understand and critique their world. It has emancipatory values in that it regards the informants as the experts on their life situations and draws on this to investigate the power relations in the setting to develop research that is critical.

This study is informed by my professional background in teaching and youth work, along with my personal experience of identifying with a Black ‘political’ identity. While identity politics perhaps now seen as passé, at their heights, movements based on identity politics seemed to offer strong possibilities for transformative practice. Those positioned on the margins who experienced material inequalities based on race, gender, sexuality and disability were pushed to act. Such action has seen some amelioration for marginalised groups, giving a corporeal sense that some battles have been won. The shift away from identity politics and the move to a so-called ‘post-racial’ era however masks the continued existence of material inequalities. Current neo-liberal marketised approaches to education appear to crowd out genuine possibilities for transformative action. Equality legislation has led to greater performative audit cultures (Strathern 2000; Osler and Morrison 2002; Ahmed 2007) which place emphasis on meeting bureaucratic monitoring rather than a focus on active equality work.

Key to the analysis is an exploration of Schön’s notion of shock and puzzlement as experienced by practitioners as they learn about and put into place processes to deal with race and difference, through participant observation. The thesis works from the ground up to see how practice is realised and how critical spaces are realised, rather than producing a more traditional policy top-down critique. To accomplish this it will draw on IE, while broadening its base by using visual methods, in order to produce accounts that draw more discursively on informants’ narratives, providing access to areas and themes that are normally out of reach to researchers. Given that reflection has personal as well as professional components, this will provide

additional material for thick description and analysis to allow the mapping of concepts with richer data.

This chapter has provided an examination of the motives and background for the study. It has outlined the process and highlighted key issues. The next two chapters will begin with a critical examination of the literatures in relation to reflection and race.

CHAPTER 2

IN SEARCH OF REFLECTIVE PRACTICE

2.1 STARTING WITH A PUZZLE

Highlighted in a wide-range of professional learning literature are the potential rewards of reflective practice (RP), particularly in relation to critical pedagogy (Freire 1972; Giroux 1988; Griffiths and Tann 1992; hooks 1994; Brookfield 1995) although the practicalities are a little more complex. This chapter will draw on the literature(s) (Kamler and Thomson 2006) to examine the development of key discourses and assess the strengths of some of the competing claims.

The work of Donald Schön (1973, 1983, 1987a, 1987b, 1991) has been seen to be particularly influential in raising the profile of RP. Key to Schön's thinking is his championing of reflection-in-action (1983, p128) as a practitioner technique which enables them to draw on tacit knowledge, (Polanyi 1967) to solve 'problems' rapidly. This he suggests is different from reflection-on-action, which is more involved, requiring research and critical thinking. Close attention to Schön's concept of 'puzzlement' triggering reflection (1983) or acting as a 'shock' (1987, p150) to create reflection-in-action shows that this key aspect, unquestioningly accepted by most writers is not clearly defined in the literature. It is also central to this thesis in relation to race as the fluctuating nature of race (See chapter 3) has created many 'puzzles', not all of which lead to 'action'. Schönian Reflection-in-action appears to preclude 'theory' seeing broader reflection as part of a technical rational¹⁰ operation, which values 'positivist' 'research knowledge'.

The notion of 'disruptions' generating critical reflection have also been central to a range of other work beginning with Dewey, a strong influence on Schön, who saw

¹⁰Technical rationality is associated with a positivist epistemology that tries to eliminate problems by detailing clear procedures in order to deal with practice, derived from logical positivism, which in particular Schön sees it as being embodied in the modern university that uses experimentation and high-level theory to do this. For Schön "it fails to account for practical competence in 'divergent' situations" (1983, p49).

reflective thinking arising from a “situation where there is experienced obscurity, doubt, conflict, disturbance” (1933 p101). Developed also by Boud et al (1985) and Mezirow (1990) (see section 2.5) who utilise the terms ‘discomfort’ and ‘dilemma’, they depart from Schön in placing a greater focus on the role of emotions in reflection. In giving less attention to feelings, the implications for practice, transformative education (see below) and professional formations can give rise to very different applications of reflection. This side-lining, potentially creates RP as a site of control, though often depicted as being transformative (Freire 1972; hooks 1994; Brockbank et al 2002; Ledwith and Springett 2010).

Through a critical review of the literature, section 2.2 shows that the social construction of RP, emerged mainly as a consequence of Schön’s oeuvre. Secondly that the political and social backdrop was suited to Schön’s ideas on RP, due to its critique of technical rationality, crudely depicting HE as a site of positivist knowledge. Thirdly that the displacement of HE has led to the positioning of mentoring and to a lesser extent, writing also, as a technology for aiding RP. However the discussion shows that mentoring is a site of potential control given its use as an assessment mechanism, mitigating against the use of RP as a transformative ‘mechanism’ that foregrounds institutional rather than individual professional knowledge.

Following on from this, the next section builds on epistemological critiques of Schön to suggest that his key concept ‘reflection-in-action’ is overplayed. This is not necessarily ‘new’ knowledge as Schön claims but rather knowledge that fits with the social construction within a setting. While presenting the attractive notion of ‘artistry’ suggesting well-crafted solutions, particularly as a bulwark against ‘technical rationality’, allowing practitioners to draw on ‘tacit’ experiences, elevating ‘innate’ knowledge based in “craft and art” (1983, p34), this may prevent innovation where the social circumstances provide objections to more radical solutions requiring critiques of institutional practices and structures dovetailing with section 2.2.

Importantly whilst shock may trigger action, it can also induce a catatonic paralysis (Issit 2003) and this merits further investigation. Boud and Mezirow offer

alternative conceptions that pay close attention to emotion, involving the holistic examination of social environments. This provides an explanation of how some circumstance rather than triggering knowledge require opportunities first for restitution to take place.

Through ignoring emotions to focus on ‘action’, Schön produces an emphasis on utilitarian reflection that can preclude practitioners from a detailed critical investigation into the social circumstances in which practice operates. Arguably Schön’s work also fits well within a managerialist education framework (Thrupp and Wilmott 2003) with an emphasis on reducing action to the ‘technical’ buttressed by policy constructs, and side-lining ‘shocks’ and ‘puzzles’ of race which will be discussed in relation to race in chapter Three and considered in the empirical work in the case studies.

2.2.1 THE BIRTH OF REFLECTIVE PRACTICE

This section examines the development of RP to trace key themes. An appropriate mechanism to tease this out is to examine the ‘ruptures’(Foucault 1972) that take place in discourses by mapping out academic texts via a literature review in order to try to ascertain the temporal usage of the term ‘reflective practice’, which did not appear to be in common usage prior to Schön’s work. Tracing its appearance in education literature, particularly, provides a means with which to open up the inquiry. Presented here is a contextual background of the practices associated with RP the genesis and the usage of this term and its representation in policy. Rather than looking for a linear series of events, an examination of the “discursive formations” (Foucault 1972), this chapter traces the appearance and different usages of terms, to examine the “distribution of gaps, voids, absences, limits, divisions” (1972, p119)” giving access to the inherent power relations.

An initial keyword search for “REFLECTIVE PRACTICE” was carried out using the Proquest database, this uses the ERIC, BEI and AEI¹¹ indexes and thus provides

¹¹These three databases respectively Education Resources Information Centre, the British Education Index and the Australian Education Index, drawn on by the Proquest database at the time of writing, acted as the main repositories of Education texts.

a reliable source of the education literature. Two types of publications were examined, firstly journals, which produced a list of 2348 journals and 488 books in the period 1980-2011. This information has been summarised in the graph below.

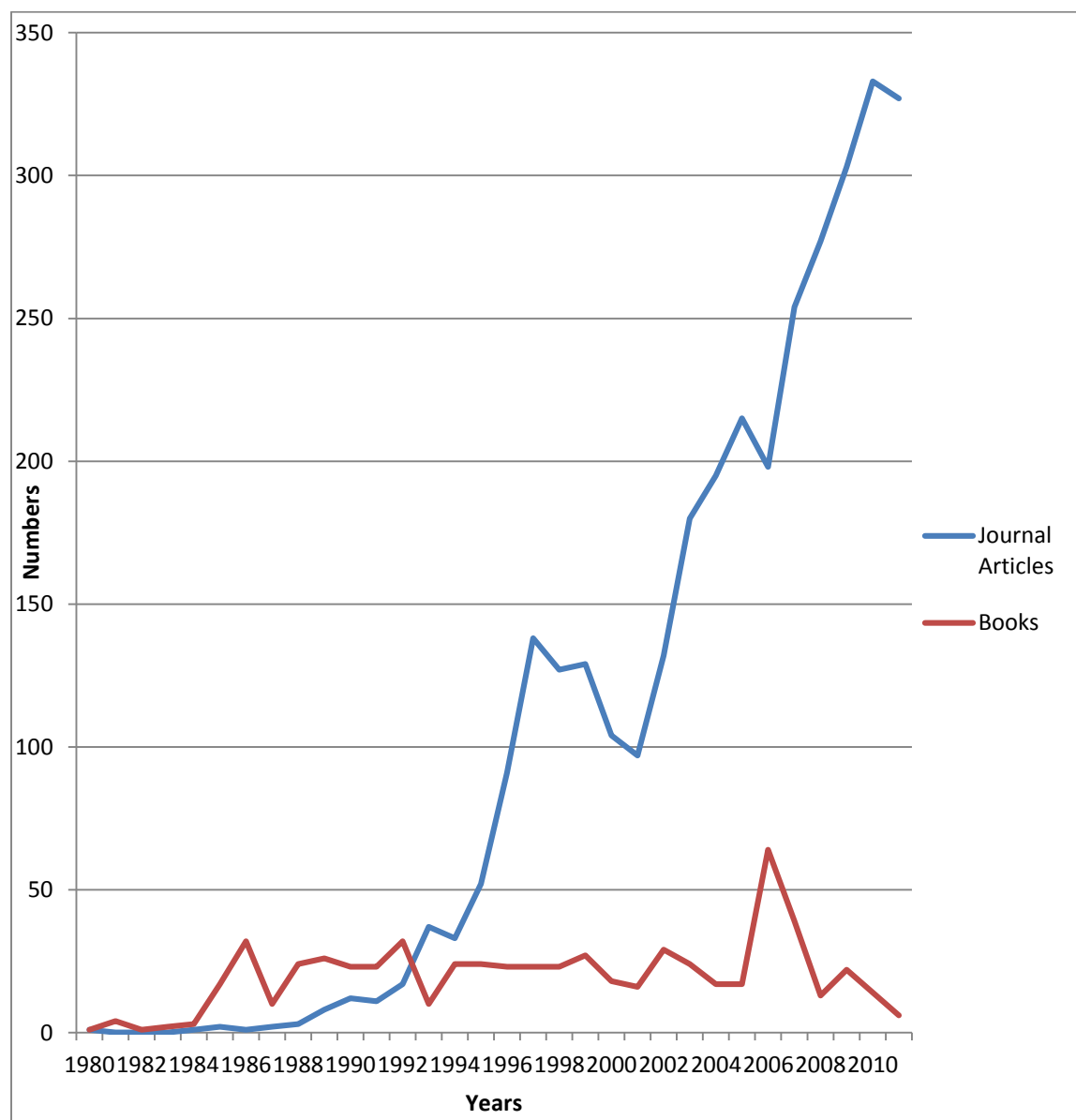


Fig 2a Publications over time

Reflective practice as a term first appeared in 1862 in a work of fiction¹² by Harriet Beecher Stowe (1862, p377) the abolitionist. There are no recorded mentions until 1907 when Dewey¹³ used it (1907, p33). The first contemporary educational

¹² The term used was “non-reflective practice”

¹³RP as a term here is un-defined and used briefly, with one mention, in reference to an author of the time Mr Bradley a proponent of 'practical' thinking over 'theory'. While Bradley sees reflection as an ideal activity, Dewey refutes this and argues that an examination of situational factors using a variety of peripheral knowledge in fact locates this in the empirical realm through an examination of tangential elements.

reference is in a French paper by Forget (1984). As can be seen from the graph there were very few references prior to 1984 and journal articles only hit double figures in 1990. There were more books than articles until 1993 and after this period, there was an exponential increase hitting a high of 333 journal articles in 2010. The growth from the early 1990s onwards as seen in the graph (Fig 2a.) was extremely rapid and while heavily focused on education showed a movement into other fields. Key citations in teacher education literature followed the publication of *Educating the Reflective Practitioner* (ETRP¹⁴) and also a keynote presentation at AERA (Schön 1987b) (see also Grimmer and Erickson 1988) followed later by its entry into policy and official teacher rubric (TDA 2007; DoE 2012)

In order to focus on the UK picture, a search was also conducted of Government reports located on the Education England web-site (Gillard 2014) which contains all major government reports on education. Keyword searches include “REFLECT” (produced 271 mentions), “REFLECTION” (103), “REFLECTIVE” (22), “REFLECTIVE PRACTICE” (1- Rumbold Report (HMSO 1990)). Usages of the word reflect and reflective were primarily in relation to pupil activity and learning not in reference to educators. The earliest mention of reflective was in a 1979 report on the development of teacher training, where in relation to written work by student teachers which “tended to be descriptive rather than reflective and to be based on relatively few sources”(HMSO 1979, p13), suggesting that being ‘reflective’ involved drawing on wider academic texts, rather than ‘mere’ thinking. This predates Schön’s contribution by some years.

This examination of literature associate with reflection suggests that its rapid growth can be traced back to events from the mid-1980s onwards which coincided with the publication and dissemination of Schön’s texts, supporting the thesis that the term reflective and “reflective practice” are recent arrivals in education nomenclature. It can also be strongly suggested that the arrival of Schön’s (1983, 1987a, 1987b) work acted as a catalyst, this will be explored below to see how reflection became transmuted into reflective practice.

¹⁴ From here-on abbreviated to *Educating the Reflective Practitioner*

2.2.2 FROM REFLECTION TO REFLECTIVE PRACTICE IN TEACHER EDUCATION BROADER PERSPECTIVES

“The classroom teacher of the early twentieth century, stolid and substantial in popular stereotype, turns out to be a shadowy and elusive historical quarry in practice, apparently not much given to professional reflection, either in the course of a working life or thereafter” (Cunningham and Gardner 2004, p3)

The first direct mention in teacher education guidance of the word reflective is in the Rumbold report (HMSO 1990) on early years education in which, “educators of young children need to be open-minded, evaluative, reflective and responsive” (p37). Prior to this the term had primarily been used with regard to reflection in children, in reference to improving their learning. Increasingly RP and reflection became part of the education landscape and eventually part of the teaching standards (TDA2007; DoE 2012) paralleled in nursing, social work and youth work (See 2.3.1) primarily as a means by which to facilitate learning from experience. The James Report (HMSO 1972) into training of teachers made the recommendation that new teachers completing a one year initial training in which they would gain ‘licensed teacher status’ with “with proper supervision and support, and with time for reflection and study” (HMSO 1972, 6.12) inferring that experienced staff would be able to support and guide newcomers in reflecting. From the mid-1980s, a plethora of literature was produced and began to grow almost exponentially. Bolin (1988) one of the early advocates for RP, claims that in the 1980s ‘Teacher thinking’ was a catchphrase, by the 1990s the same could be now said for reflective teaching and practice. She states

“For these teacher educators, development of teacher thinking requires more than mastery of certain teacher behaviors associated with student achievement. It requires involvement of student teachers in critical, reflective thinking about their work” (1988 p48)

It is useful to examine how teacher thinking and reflection transmuted into RP and the implications of this. The verb ‘think’ in teacher education can be linked to Dewey by his seminal work (1916/1933), which was a significant influence in Western education literature and the first to assign a clear definition of reflection

“the active, persistent and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in the light of the grounds that support it and the further conclusion to which it tends.” (Dewey 1933, p9)

Dewey's work also triggered more strongly the notion of the teacher as an expert in learning, moving from behaviourist towards cognitivist (Merriam and Cafferella 1991) approaches in education. Dewey's approach was also supportive of humanist modes of education that required teachers to examine the social setting, arguing for more holistic modes in which "the teacher is engaged, not simply in the training of individuals, but in the formation of the proper social life." (1897) .

Reflection also involved greater engagement of the teacher in an active research process and emphasises Bolin's point about 'thinking'.

"(Thinking) includes all of these steps - the sense of a problem, the observation of conditions, the formation and rational elaboration of a suggested conclusion, and the active experimental testing." (Dewey 1916, p210) (...) "furthermore this was not restricted to 'technical reflection' as 'society must have a type of education which gives individuals a personal interest in social relationships and control, and the habits of mind which secure social change" (1916, p108)

From this Edwards and Thomas draw a more radical view of Dewey's work in which

"The development of persons through education is (thus) not to state extrinsic goals for education; rather the development of understanding and capability are features which should characterise the process of education" (2010, p405)

Thus, the philosophical basis of education showed a shift, while early behaviourist models suggested a 'transmission' of information from teachers to learners. Dewey with a focus on reflection and problem-solving approaches offered a more humanist and action-research framing. Schön by dint of his claim fifty years later of having created a *new* epistemology (see later) (1983, 1987a) with reflection-in-action, created much interest and generated a fresh debate which captured much of the zeitgeist of the time, although not the only writer on reflection, various attempts to popularise reflection have been made since Dewey. (See also Hullfish and Smith 1961; Berry 1963; Hunt and Metcalfe 1971; Gross and Muessig 1971). A strong influence was the use of critical incidents¹⁵ (Flanagan 1954), in order to expedite learning in professional education settings sixty years ago. Meshing with

¹⁵The Critical Incident Technique (CIT) evolved from work by the United States Air Force in organisational psychology that focused on revisiting and recreating experiences to collect and analyse data, for a more detailed explanation see Butterfield et al (2005).

Dewey's work on problem-solving (1916), Hunt and Metcalfe had advocated for reflective teaching using a "problems approach to learning", "to feel a problem is to be aroused to the point where one wants to learn enough about it to do something about it. This feeling has two components doubt and concern." (1971, p7) arguably both forerunners of Schön's notion of puzzlement, these multiple works failed to gain a foothold in education as clearly as that of Schön. The next section explores some of the political framing to explore why.

2.2.3 THE POLITICAL BACKDROP

It is cogent to explore the wider backdrop of changes that were taking place and may have contributed to the popularisation of RP as it emerged from reflection. As the most-cited originator of the term, Schön placed his rationale as being due to the 'failure' of the professions (1983 p4, p29) however there have always been critiques of professional knowledge. For teachers in particular this has been a perennial (Weber and Mitchell 2000). In fact, 'failure', is seen often as a reason to reform services and the haste to move to a 'structural' reformation of schools is an international trend. Often moving to a New Public Management model (Nitta 2007) (See next chapter). Education in the UK had been starkly affected by Callaghan's Ruskin speech (1976) , followed by the election of the Conservative government in 1979 with the subsequent greater focus on education for 'employment' have been clearly documented internationally (Aaronowitz and Giroux 1986; Apple 2006; Lowe 2007). This played a key part in undermining the professional status of teachers depicting their 'deficiencies' as one which is a barrier to economic success and dovetails with Schön's highlighting of problems with professions.

Teacher education went through major changes from the 1980s and 90s. Initially, post-war, changes via the *McNair Report* (HMSO 1944) and teacher training colleges becoming part of Higher Education gave an "academic respectability" to would-be teachers (Pring 1996, p9) supplanting the 'apprenticeship model common in the early part of the 20th Century (Cunningham and Gardner 2005). However as criticisms of Universities as producers of 'technical rational' knowledge began to grow with the *Black Papers* (Cox and Dyson 1969a, 1969b, 1970; Cox and Boyson 1975, 1977) depicting HE as sites which were "dosed with Marxism or a barely

distinguishable equivalent” (Homan 1997, p70) alternatives were sought. As a counter to this, Kenneth Clarke, moved to change the focus of teacher training in 1992, increasing the time to be spent in schools to 80% in which importantly “mentors should be chosen from within these selected schools to supervise the trainees” (Pring 1996, p8), elevating the amount of support required from practitioners and reducing HE input.

Almost twenty years later the Coalition government, with the Education Department headed by Gove finally seems to have brought this completely to fruition (Vaughan 2011), where “university-based teacher training was to be scaled back in favour of practical experience in the classroom” (Benn 2011, p11). Coupled with the abolition of the Teachers Development Agency (TDA) (Education Act 2011) and the introduction of other routes such as Teach First (Hutchings et al 2006) this has changed the landscape. It has been criticised by Butler where power is “essentially awarded to particular stakeholder groups with favourable political views” (2014, p258). This is an ideological act “reconfiguring teacher education away from being a public good and in favour of business and enterprise” (Ghale and Beckett 2013, p182). These have produced radical changes for trainee teachers who have reduced access to ‘theoretical’ learning and are dependent to a much greater degree on situational knowledge.

Furlong (2001) details how particularly in the period 1984-1992 the reflective teacher became constructed as a way of “connecting theory to practice” (p121) and also how “courses were no longer dominated by ‘disciplines of education’” (p126). Thus the arrival of the reflective teacher, coincided with a reduction of the influence of higher education and a supposed ‘greater’, input of school-based and supplied knowledge, paving the way for more input by ‘mentors’, the next section provides a critique of this.

2.2.4 SUPERVISION/MENTORING IN TEACHING

The instigation of reflection in teaching has as we have seen above coincided with teacher training moving towards a greater ‘apprenticeship’ model in which trainees spend less time in institutions with a greater focus on school-based work. As Pring

(1996) discusses, this led to the additional use of ‘mentors’ in providing work-based training. Whilst notions particularly of mentoring teachers (Punter 2007) have become used as developmental practices, which involve reflection with a senior colleague, particularly of late, their efficacy has been questioned (Colley 2001, 2003). Colley discusses the ‘myth’ of the mentor in which this seemingly set of benevolent relations becomes a site of power and/or control and is wrought with emotional and professional conflicts.

In the UK with the move to more school-based education and the transfer from H.E., there is less literature on the requirements of school supervision or mentoring than would be expected. It has however been a facet for some time, moving on from the 19th Century adoption of the ‘pupil-teacher’ who had to be “at least thirteen years of age” (Gardner 1994). Moves, by the Board of Education (1908) to provide guidance for those taking the student teacher route were taken in the early part of the last century

“it is important that the supervision of Student-Teachers should not be left wholly to the Head Teachers under whom they are placed.”

Cunningham and Gardner surmise that

“The suggestion was that the most appropriate figure for the exercise of this supervisory role would be a local authority officer or members of the local education committee itself. In this respect, the likely deficiencies of head teachers were clearly hinted at” (2005, p27)

Thus while practice routes are lauded, the support provided has proved problematic from their inception seemingly ignored by right-wing critics. The structures for this to take place have often lagged behind as Harris points out more recently

“in teacher education, no widespread institutional forms exist for the reflective practicum – both structures and supervisory skills in guiding reflection-about-action. Many highly touted ideas in education have foundered because they have not found a practical format” (1989, p15)

As Moon says the interest in reflection gained popularity among teacher educators, who see it as a “good thing” (1999, p69), rather than by teachers themselves. Both social work (Gould and Taylor 1996; Ixer 1999; Redmond 2006; Knott and Scragg 2007; Thompson and Thompson 2008) and nursing (Jarvis 1992; Reed and Procter 1993; Atkins and Murphy 1994; Johns 2000; Taylor 2000) had mechanisms in place

for supporting RP via supervision that placed an emphasis on using it as part of a reflective process. Within teaching this was not always the case, whilst notions of reflection began to be popularised at this time, it would appear that in teaching the task fell to those areas where reflection was being developed. I.e. within teacher education by teacher educators (Zeichner and Liston 1987; Grimmer and Erickson 1988; Clift and Pugach 1990; Calderhead and Gates 1993; GTCNI 2007) not by experienced teachers. In contrast to youth work, social work and nursing where mechanisms for RP, had been long-established in the U.K.

The literature on school supervision is more prevalent in the US, particularly on ‘clinical’ supervision (Sergiovanni 1982; Acheson and Gall 1987; Blase and Blase 2004; McDonald 2009; Marzano et al 2011) than in the UK, up until the 1990s however with the changes cited above in transferring training programmes to become more school-based following guidance from the DfE

“The change to more school-based teacher education is necessary to improve the quality of teaching in schools. Universities, rightly or wrongly, are seen as remote from the practical task that they are teaching about. There is more of a professional growth factor when they have a more substantial time in a school with an experienced, committed mentor teacher.” (DfE 1992a)

The transition in the nomenclature to mentoring, as with RP generated a growth in literature on the subject.(Furlong and Maynard 1995; MacLennan 1995; Wilkinson 1997; Fletcher 2000; Sugget 2006 ; Garvey 2014) and a rethink

“Mentoring, as opposed to supervision, requires a new set of skills and competencies for the teacher—skills and competencies that are different from those of supervision. Teachers now have to move from the nurturing, caring paradigm outlined in a more comprehensive and extended program. The result is that teacher supervisors have to be trained into this new role which is being variously named but is being most commonly called ‘mentor’.” (Field 1994, p73)

Mentoring in teaching is seen primarily as a strategy for trainee teachers and NQTs and there is little guidance on supporting staff throughout their career, whereas in other fields it is seen as part of a career-long process, with structures, resources and time being set aside. Given the claims made for RP this seems an opportunity missed in teaching. Supervision also does not have to be purely dyadic, peer and ‘off-line’ supervision where the supervisor is from another agency have also proved useful in social and youth work settings. The focus is very much on the one-to-one

working and this seems to be reinforced by the mentoring literature, focusing overtly on a 'senior-teacher/junior or NQT teacher relationship.

While this is presented very much as a supportive relationship, in which there is a professional concern for development of the individual, to be able to provide 'coaching', the suggestion is that there is an 'innate' knowledge which will emerge from the individual by the process of '*elenchus*' from the Meno¹⁶. The focus can be very much on technical responses but the emotional aspects of the relationship as Boud and Mezirow are also essential, though they can often become neglected. Colley explores this in her doctoral thesis (2001) which highlights how 'emotional labour' is extracted in the process. There is often a genuine concern for the development of mentees, however where problems exist when requiring recourse to a senior manager, rather than a developmental process this may produce an authoritarian rather than a developmental response where a mentor feels that mentee is falling short. Teacher education, increased practice requirements and became Teacher Training (Education Act 1994). With greater in-school provision this led to the piecemeal introduction of mentoring, with the suspicion that this was to "de-intellectualise the initial preparation of teachers, and/or de-professionalise the teaching profession" (Wilkin, 1999), this was often complemented by advisory teachers, at the outset (Pollard and Tann 1993). More recently, this expertise is no longer available with reductions in LEA advisory services. It has always been open to the charge that the quality of the mentoring is at best variable and whilst mentoring can be very positive, poor quality mentoring can have adverse effects.

Schön's points out how problems leave the professional feeling puzzled and confused, (1987b) the supervision process is one which can contribute to the dénouement of these feelings, however the segueing of supervision into mentoring now includes a closer connection to an assessment process which can temper this. Where the process is unclear and beset by trepidation by both parties its' endpoint

¹⁶Elenchus takes place when in investigating a problem, and putting forward a purported solution the interrogative process shows that there is no single simple clear answer. The task of the coach is through the process to guide the student to a response which is feasible though this may even then be open to interpretation. The process is one that guides but does not lead providing access to different belief systems around a question.

becomes obscured. It can be problematic for mentors, Hobson) cites a number of studies (Hardy 1999; Oberski et al 1999; Smith and Maclay 2007) which show

“that some mentors have failed to provide sufficient support for beginner teachers’ emotional and psychological well-being, characterised in many instances by general ‘unavailability’ ” (2009, p209)

In particular, the additional workload affects relationships.

“First, many studies (e.g. Lee and Feng 2007; Robinson and Robinson 1999; Simpson et al. 2007) have reported that mentors have experienced increased and sometimes unmanageable workloads, as a result of their involvement in mentoring in addition to their normal teaching roles. This can contribute to difficulties in accommodating all their mentees’ needs.” (Hobson 2009, p210).

A potential conflict between assessing and advising, has been noted by Lord et al (2008) in which, it is quite possible to view supervision as a site of control. Mentors can act as gatekeepers, withhold information and hold prejudices. Mantzoukas and Jasper see RP as potentially being a “power game” (2004 p912) which becomes used as a disciplinary technology, after Foucault (1977) in order to normalise behaviour in junior members of staff (Walshaw 2009). The practicum school performs this function, drawing on Foucault by “determining the conduct of individuals and submitting them to certain ends or domination, an objectivising of the subject” (Foucault, 1988, p18). Where insecure mentees display Mezirow’s shame or guilt (see below) this is likely to be uncondusive to reflection.

2.2.5 REFLECTION, LEARNING AND WRITING

Associated with reflection and RP was its depiction as a staple in improving learning. While ‘theoretical’ work in education, prior to the 1970s had been dominated firstly by behaviourist, and then cognitive approaches, work on andragogy by Knowles (1973 1980) laid the ground for further work on humanist and situational learning (Merrriam and Cafferella 1991). This built on work from Lewin on Gestalt psychology, developed originally to examine learning styles within research into adult education, leading to Kolb’s learning cycle (Kolb and Fry 1975). Although this had its critics (e.g. Jarvis 1987), this was hugely influential, marrying concrete experience, reflection and abstraction very rapidly becoming

widely adopted not just in education but in a number of different fields. These developments moved the focus of learning away from psychology and cognition, as Boud stated, “it is this working with experience that is important in learning” (1985, p19), towards humanist (Freire 1972) and situational (Lave and Wenger 1991) forms of learning. The move away from individual and internal mental processes, opened the door for critical pedagogy (See next chapter), with a focus on the social construction of knowledge, enabling transformative education (see chapter 3) to critique education political structures as well as technique. The genesis of this work in andragogy is important as it was within this area that Boud’s and Mezirow’s material was first developed (see later Section 2.4).

As RP in teacher education took a particular hold initially in the North American continent (Calderhead and Gates 1993), aided by the use of diaries and journaling (Rainer 1978). Following Dewey (English and Gillen 2001), which generated student writing and the use of vignettes (Kilbourn 1988) to explore experience. The use of critical incidents (Flanagan 1954) is also a part of nurse education (Smith and Russell 1991; Hendricks, Mooney and Berry 1996; Hagland 1998; Elliot 2004), youth/social work courses (Zeichner and Liston 1987; Valli 1992; Hillocks 1995; Bain et al 1999; Larrivee 2000; Cochran-Smith 2000) as well as teaching (Tripp 1993).

“Reviewing (such notes) allows practitioners to see patterns emerging and to ‘fix’ the use of words. They provide a concrete means of exploring practice.” (Smith 1988)

In this way reflective *writing*, drawing as it did on experience, linked to the work on experiential learning (Brookfield 1983; Jarvis 1987; Kolb and Fry 1975; Kolb 1984, 1995) began to be given greater emphasis. Though a concern expressed was that it was ‘descriptive’ (HMSO 1979) implied that the ‘real’ purpose of education was to be analytical and link to ‘theory’. One easy way to achieve this was to produce more writing and recording of experience for reflection. This provided opportunities to synthesise material experience with ‘theory’ but in the main was informal and in the largely private. Later, as ‘RP’, began to take hold there was a greater development of its use in academic writing and eventually assessment.

It is possible to see Schön's work as an on-going development of Dewey and to an extent Polanyi. I have outlined above how conservative political forces were critical of teacher education, for its supposed failure to 'educate' young people for work however it is also important to view these social changes in relation to broader forces of late modernity. Frost (2010) in relation to professional practices suggests that the forms are manifest in globalisation, informationalism, the emergence of a network society and managerialism. These have led to rapid changes in material practices in relation to all professions. In particular, however the notions of effectiveness and accountability are a more visible product of late modernity. This when applied to education has resulted in much greater control and an increase in the technologies of surveillance (Foucault 1988) via the flow of information, comparisons with 'international' performances of professionals and the structure of the professions, many moving to post-Fordist, neo-Taylorist forms (Ball 2006). The latter leads to a much greater 'audit culture' (Strathern 2000) requiring more data about work processes. While there is not space to cover these in detail, an examination of recent changes in education allows us to see some of the ways in which this has become manifested in teacher education in relation to reflection and also, how 'RP' is being subject to greater scrutiny via mentoring and journaling (Moon 1999). Given the increased emphasis on writing and recording reflection, this mitigates against using writing as a tool for learning as mentors may see it as part of the assessment process, preventing the presentation of weaknesses or emotional content. There is little literature on mentor teachers using writing development with trainees. Despite the importance of the mentor as a 'change agent' who Calderhead and Gates (1993, p9) see as "the person who acts as facilitator in the development of reflection" less attention has been given to this, in comparison to that expected of other HE programmes.

This section has traced the appearance in language and professional training of RP. What has emerged in this section is how there was a shift in reflection which Dewey saw as "the active, persistent and careful consideration of any belief" (1916, p6) to one from Schön (see below) which draws on an 'innate' knowledge and artistry thereby connecting it to 'practice'. This supposed focus on practice has been used to manoeuvre teacher education increasingly into schools to remove it from HE and therefore away from 'technical rational' knowledge. The supplantation of teacher

development from HE to schools lacks clarity about the role of ‘theory’ in teacher education and has not provided clear support mechanisms for the training of teachers via mentoring. This chapter has critiqued the use of mentoring and reflective writing as technologies of reflection and shown that they are potential sites of control via the move to the mentor as an assessor of trainees in teaching. The reduction of input from HE therefore is likely to result in an increased dependency for trainees on social knowledge calling into question whether shock or puzzlement generates ‘innate’ synthetic knowledge or perhaps is rather prey to situational forces. Thus rather than ‘artistry’ guiding the teacher it may be their response to the institutional expectations that produce ‘action’.

This chapter, by taking an ‘archaeological’ approach to knowledge examined competing ‘layers’. Which rather than taking as a given that RP is a ‘transformative’ technology, has shown how wider educational discourses about teacher effectiveness reduced the availability of critical foundational knowledge through an elevation of ‘practice’. This has embedded much more strongly situational frameworks and reduced historical material knowledge preventing the reflection on wider “social life” which was valued by Dewey. The next section explores more deeply Schön’s usage of reflection in action, his use of artistry, shock and puzzlement.

2.3 THE EMERGENCE OF DONALD SCHÖN’S WORK ON REFLECTIVE PRACTICE

2.3.1 BACKGROUND

Donald Schön’s work, has been very important for the development of the notion of the ‘reflective practitioner’. Two of his works in particular, *The Reflective Practitioner*¹⁷ (1983) and *Educating the Reflective Practitioner*¹⁸ (1987a) have had a very considerable effect on professional education in recent times. His initial work was based in architectural education. It has also been adopted in the areas of health, particularly nursing (Jarvis 1992; Reed and Procter 1993; Atkins and Murphy 1994;

¹⁷ From hereon abbreviated to TRP

¹⁸ From hereon abbreviated to ETRP

Johns 2000; Taylor 2000), also social work (Gould and Taylor 1996; Halton, et al 2007; Knott and Scragg 2007; Redmond 2006; Thompson and Thompson 2008), in youth and community work (Tash 1967; Young 1999). As well as in formal education settings in teaching (see below). The breadth of the work has increased steadily over the years and work on RP now, is also available in fields as diverse as police education (Copley 2011) and physiotherapy (Clouder 2000). However it is particularly in teacher education that his work has proved influential both in the literature (e.g. VanManen 1977; Zeichner 1981; Fenstermacher 1994; King and Kitchener 1994; Lyons 2006) and in the education rubric including the Teacher standards (TDA 2007; DoE 2012) and broader policy guidance (DfES 1990; GTCNI 2007). In some ways this presents an enigma as Schön is not overly respectful of teachers and the teaching profession describing it as a ‘minor profession’ (1983, p23), which “suffer(s) from shifting, ambiguous ends and shifting institutional contexts of practice.”

Schön’s work stimulated a large corpus of work, created a tremendous interest in reflection, and also a major disjuncture in the use of reflection in learning. A disjuncture, because whilst the initial popularisation of reflection in teacher education in the West came from Dewey’s work (1916, 1933) and also to some extent from the German tradition of *Didaktik* (see eg Van Manen 1977; Hopmann and Riquarts 2000; Westbury et al 2000; Hudson and Schneuwly 2007) its use was sporadic. With greater popularity in the North American continent, rather than in the UK, where Dewey has a major and often sentimental regard as a pioneer teacher educator. Whilst widespread, it did not penetrate the other professions as successfully as Schön. (Pollard and Collins 2005). Newman muses about this,

“Perhaps the popularity of Schön’s work is because it is hard to argue that teachers should be unreflective” (1999, p10)

Whilst a healthy body of work began to be developed in the 1980s, with regard to reflection in education (Mezirow 1981; Zeichner 1981; Boud et al 1985; Carr and Kemmis 1986; Grimmer and Erickson 1988; Clift and Pugach 1990; King and Kitchener 1994). Questions arose as to why did such a large body of literature on RP arise concurrently and how was it subsequently shaped. In particular the work of Schön (1983, 1987), Boud (1985) and Mezirow (1981) are frequently cited as key drivers by writers on reflection. Examining these three key authors who emerged in

the same period all with a focus on learning in the case of the latter two particularly from that of ‘adult learning’ will clarify their contribution. The comparison will aid the examination of why in particular Schön’s work was more ascendant than Boud and Mezirow and how the concepts particularly connect to this thesis.

2.3.2 REFLECTION-IN-ACTION A BOLD CLAIM

Schön is associated mainly with the popularisation of reflection-in-action, in which new knowledge is created in a practice situation, “in the know how implicit in performance” (1983, p55), it ‘hinges on the experience of surprise’ (1983, p56) to “make new sense of the situations which he may allow himself to experience” (1983, p61). Thus, Schön separates out reflection-in-action as knowledge that arises only in the act of practice. In his exposition of this in TRP, he outlines the need for a new epistemology that is dependent upon a critique of ‘technical rationality’, which he suggests for practitioners is not effective in a rapidly changing world. Schön begins, by detailing how the practitioner often uses knowledge that is innate, when in an ‘indeterminate zone’ they are

“stimulated by surprise....turn thought back on action and on the knowing which is implicit in the action. ... as he[sic] tries to make sense of it, he also reflects on the understandings which have been implicit in his action, understandings which have been implicit in his action, understandings which he surfaces, criticizes, restructures, and embodies in further action.” (1983, p50)”

Engagement in a practice situation generates new knowledge, which the practitioner is unable to explain but is effective and arrived at implicitly. Thus for Schön ‘reflection-in-action’ is a special case which is not based on technical rationality leading to a new formation of ‘knowing-in-action’

“When we go about the spontaneous, intuitive performance of the actions of everyday life, we show ourselves to be knowledgeable in a special way. Often we cannot say what we know. When we try to describe it we find ourselves at a loss, or we produce descriptions that are obviously inappropriate. Our knowing is ordinarily tacit, implicit in our patterns of action and in our feel for the stuff with which we are dealing. It seems right to say that our knowledge is in our action. And similarly, the workaday life of the professional practitioner reveals, in its recognitions, judgments, and skills, a pattern of tacit knowing-in-action.” (1983, p50).

This draws on Polanyi's work on tacit knowledge in which we "know more than we can tell" (1967, p4) using his well-known example of facial recognition¹⁹. Schön appeals to 'common-sense' where in the "behavior of a skilled practice we reveal a knowing which does not stem from a prior intellectual operation" (p51). This is in some ways quite a convincing argument, Schön draws on sporting examples, exponents who are clearly 'artistic' but not able to articulate how they go about their business. It has much attraction "there is a natural appeal to many in the proposal that the best professional practice has a certain mystique, an artistry which is more than the sum of technical skills and knowledge" (Gilliss 1988, p48). "He separates this from 'reflection-*on*-action' which is more deliberate and has a different time-scale.

Eraut points out that "words like 'trigger' and 'on-the-spot' suggest a rapid intuitive process with little pause for thought, while the description of critical questioning suggests a more prolonged, deliberative process. They cannot both be true of the same occasion" (1995, p14). Court (1988, p144) contends claims that this takes place in-situ and details how many of Schön's examples are in fact removed from the event and thus should be deemed reflection-*on*-action. She sees this as being more aligned with Dewey's notion of "thoughtful thinking" and thus not particularly novel. This imprecision, has also been detailed by a number of other authors (Greenwood1993; Bengtsson 1995; Ixer1999). Schön himself details that it takes place in the *action present*, "the zone of time in which action can still make a difference to the situation" (Schön 1983, p62). This seems rather a stretch if as Schön claims the "knowing is in the action", even a short hiatus seems enough to suggest there is little difference between reflection-in-action and reflection-on-action, a more deliberate act detailed conventionally by other writers.

In addition Schön claims here that he has developed a "new epistemology of practice" (Schön 1983) and takes to task the prevailing epistemology which he says is based on a technical rational approach (1983, p6). In leading up to his presentation

¹⁹"We know a person's face, and can recognize it among a thousand, indeed a million. Yet we usually cannot tell how we recognize a face we know, so most of this cannot be put into words." (Polanyi: 1967, p4) Without describing individual features, it is possible to identify a person without being able to explain the process.

of 'reflection-in-action' Schön outlines the problems of professional knowledge which he feels has become dominated by 'technical rationality' (1983, p30), which he sees as a "positivist epistemology of practice" (p31), where "craft and art had no lasting place" (p34).

A new epistemology however as Fenstermacher details would be about the "examination of knowledge, evidence, belief, the credibility of our claims" (1988, p40), this he concludes is "much the opposite of what Schön is trying to talk about when he discusses reflective practice". Schön's lack of clarity about his claim of having created a new epistemology have been critiqued in detail elsewhere (Eraut1994; Newman 1999; Gilroy 1993; Erlandson 2005) and rest on his use of 'tacit knowledge' from practice, trumping "theoretical knowledge" developed by technical rational means. The location of tacit knowledge within HE, for Schön has become institutionalised due to the dominance of what he terms the 'new model of the University'.

"The relationship between "higher" and "lower" schools, academic and practice knowledge, needs to be turned on its head. We should think about practice as a setting not only for the application of knowledge but for its generation. We should ask not only how practitioners can better apply the results of academic research, but what kinds of knowing are already embedded in competent practice" (1983, p34)

This is important for Schön also in the light of his claims of the professions having become devalued due to their over-reliance of positivism, particularly in zones of indeterminate practice. He is seemingly suggesting, not a bad thing in itself, that the differential needs to be narrowed. Gilroy though questions whether "experience alone can ever be a sufficient base for the development of professional knowledge" (1989, p102). The question of what constitutes professionalism has raged for some time discussed particularly by critiques of New Managerialism also known as New Public Management, (NPM) (See Mahony and Hextall 2000, p5) and also has a number of variants (See also Clarke and Newman 1997; Saint-Martin 1998; Exworthy and Halford 1999; Reed 2002 Trowler 1998). This for Brehony and Deem leads to the adoption of methods in education, which

"may be understood as a set of values, ideas and practices including marketisation, performance management, league

tables, devolved budgets and targets, aimed at reforming the management of public service organisations” (2005, p396)

In this way, the call to define ‘professionalism’ by the instigation of structural devices may be seen as one that seeks to control, rather than ‘liberate’ practitioners. As professionalism is an important part of teacher identity, bestowing autonomy is dependent on disciplinary knowledge and while experiential knowledge is very important, Usher et al see additional problems with this, “*There is a much greater readiness to reject the notion that theoretical knowledge can simply be applied or ‘mapped’ on to practice*” (1997, p123). In education, in particular the development of knowledge, is rarely developed in a theoretical ‘practicum’ and then transferred. Researchers and teachers develop partnership work over time, in education sites, that may then be returned to practice, to create a synthesis. The imposition through NPM reforms bears little evidence of being influenced by teacher knowledge and thus are less likely to be ‘owned’ by teachers.

By claiming to have evolved a “new epistemology”, it seems that Schön feels able to dispense with having to theorise and explain the process by which knowledge becomes grounded. Fenstermacher (1988), sees the division between technical rationality and RP as not being as clear a dichotomy as Schön presents (See also Shulman 1988). While Eraut (1995, p10) states that Schön offers two versions of knowledge Eraut identifies at *least* four, which are used in his work²⁰. The reduction by Schön of knowledge therefore to a binary may simplify the choice between what Fenstermacher (1988) sees as “good versus evil” applications of reflection. Having supposedly created a new epistemology Schön’s focus seems to be on creating a divide between ‘theoretical knowledge’ and “reflective practice” which is generated by the practitioner. Gilliss comments on this,

²⁰These include

- 1) Scientific knowledge which claims to have been empirically validated according to positivist criteria
- (2) Stylistic conventions of the kind used to describe schools, movements or aesthetic approaches
- (3) Theories whose prime purpose seems to be conceptualisation and which guide situational understanding and thinking about appropriate forms of interpretation
- (4) Appreciative systems used by professional communities to formulate goals and judge what constitutes good or acceptable professional conduct. (Eraut 1995, p 10)

“Reflection-in-action seems to bear a strong relationship to discovery learning. That is to say, it makes of the professional a gifted amateur, constantly seeking to discover and no doubt rediscover, particular solutions to arising problems” (1988, p49)

It is difficult to see how Schön’s work critical as it is of empirical work offers a better foundation. Whilst it elevates ‘professional knowledge,’ the basis of the claim seems to rest on very individual interpretations for what works. What is, to use Gilliss’ term, a personal ‘discovery’ may not be transferrable as it may only apply to the situation in hand.

Whilst the prevailing usage of Schön, particularly in works devoted to initial teacher education, has been in the main been uncritical with some exceptions (Eraut 1994; Scott 2008; Kotzee 2012), the acceptance of his ideas on reflection-in-action results in the reduction of knowledge to a simple two-dimensional approach, focused on creating ‘innate’ ‘action’. When in fact, reflection should warrant multiple viewpoints to emerge. Certainly, reflection in a mirror may throw back a single image but by moving to different vantage points or using more than one mirror enables several angles and views of the phenomenon to be available for examination.

This section has given a flavour of some of the problems of Schön’s work on reflection-in-action. This work has in the main been detailed elsewhere see for example (Fenstermacher 1988; Gilliss 1988; Gilroy 1993; Greenwood 1993; Eraut 1995; Bengtsson 1995; Ixer 1999) and in particular (Newman 1999; Erlandson 2005, 2007), where his method of proof, in particular case study and language usage, has become severely undermined. This is pertinent, though the key focus of this doctoral study, influenced by ethnography is that it requires linkage to everyday situations. A main research question to be addressed here, is how notions of puzzlement which are an important feature of reflection, in Schön’s writing are addressed in his work and what other perspectives may be. Having highlighted the problems with the Schön’s concept of reflection-in-action, it is necessary to curtail the discussion at this point in order to examine surprise or shock (Schön 1983, p7) and how artistry may be accommodated.

2.4 PUZZLEMENT, CONFUSION AND SHOCK- ARTISTIC ENDEAVOURS OR SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION?

Schön we have seen is concerned with the prevalence of ‘technical rationality’, which by placing a proscriptive approach to scientific method he sees as an enlightenment product (1983, p31) rooted in positivism. He also sees it as a product of the move of professional education into Universities, in contrast to schools of professional learning, where changes in recent times have led however to the former also having to be subjugated to a ‘positivist epistemology’ (1983, p48). This he sees as posing few problems when the ends of an inquiry are easily in sight, however when the situation becomes more complex, then “when ends are confused and conflicting, there is as yet no ‘problem’ to solve.” (1983, p41). He then moves to a metaphor that he utilises in future work of the high ground of “research-based” (1987, p3) theory in contrast to the “swampy lowlands” (ibid) of the practitioner. This “zone” is crucial for Schön as he is of the opinion that in practice, professionals placed in these indeterminate areas find that they bring out a different type of practice, informed not by ‘technical rationality’ but by other forces in which “he (sic) displays skills for which he cannot state the rules and procedures” (1983, p50). It is at this juncture that Schön presents his idea of knowing being ‘tacit’ “It seems right to say that the knowing is *in* our action” (1983, p49) (my emphasis). It is here that Schön’s important idea of the ‘puzzling’ situation emerges.

“There is some puzzling, or troubling, or interesting phenomenon with which the individual is trying to deal. As he tries to make sense of it, he also reflects on the understandings which have been implicit in his action, understandings, which he surfaces, criticizes, restructures and embodies in further action..... It is this entire process of reflection-in-action which is central to the ‘art’ by which practitioners sometimes deal well with situations of uncertainty, instability, uniqueness and value conflict.” (1983,p50)

Schön sets up a dichotomy between “research-based professional knowledge and tacit knowing-in-action” (Eraut 1995, p11). Eraut is critical of this reductionist approach and gives examples of different types of knowledge that Schön himself uses²¹. Artistry remains undefined by Schön but art is often used to express ideas

²¹ See previous note 20.

that cannot be explained verbally or in print. In Enlightenment terms, frequently, positivist science is cited to counter irrational or superstitious forces, the use of 'artistry' excuses practitioners from providing scientific explanation, which for Schön emerges in the practicum by reflection-in-action. This interconnection seems therefore important as a form of absolution in which Schön elevates practice above theoretical knowledge that for Schön only seems to be created through 'technical rationality'.

The notions of "confusion or puzzlement" or being "stuck" form a regular motif in Schön's work. The concept of the problematic is one which is common in reflection often being labelled as a "critical incident" (Flanagan 1954) and requiring a problem-solving approach. The latter is rooted in Dewey's work and common to most work on reflection but Schön argues that his creation of a "new epistemology" is an extension of Dewey's ideas. Therefore, firstly an examination will take place about how these matters are handled in Schön's early case-studies and the implications they have for the foundation of 'knowledge'. These are firstly within a psychiatric examination (1983, p117) and secondly in engineering (1983, p176) in both of these situations problems are being handled by 'professionals'.

The former example begins with a detailed discussion of the schisms that have arisen in psychiatric treatment. The Resident a 3rd year medical student has been having problems in counselling a young woman patient over her relationship with her boyfriend but she also has more deep-seated issues within her own family which have contributed to this state. Schön then relates how the 'coach/supervisor', a senior Resident supports the student in arriving at a new way of examining his problem of being 'stuck' with the patient. The Resident is keen for the student to arrive at a solution without a directive intervention and assists him in reframing his enquiry. The matter is not resolved but the student ends up querying how his own relationship with his supervisor, mirrors that of his patient with himself. Schön goes on to discuss how this is a process of reframing by the Supervisor in order for new hypotheses to be constructed about the situation. This results in experimentation on the part of the practitioner. Schön recognises that these are limited in a social situation (1983, p144) and draws on Popper to explain that this is always partial

(1983, p143) and is not a proof but a refutation of inaccurate hypotheses, thus suggesting that practice is informed by the ‘best-fit’. This process Schön states, is a result of testing

“He understands the situation by trying to change it, and considers the resulting changes not as a defect of experimental method but as the essence of its success. This fact has an important bearing on the practitioner’s answer to the question, ‘When should I stop experimenting’” (1983, p151)

Thus the way out of confusion or puzzlement for Schön is the initiation of a testing process which in

“‘practice situations’ the inquirer’s interest in changing the situation takes precedence over his interest in understanding it – (...) it is initiated by the perception of something troubling or promising” (1983, p151)

Note here, that the use of ‘*takes precedence*’, ‘*in changing the situation*’ has an inference that we will return to later towards the end of this section.

The second example in TRP is one from engineering (1983, pp168-176). Schön feels that sciences are dominated by ‘technical rationality’ but there are some situations in which this does not always provide solutions. A group of students, are asked to recreate a complex metal production process, which is no longer commercially available. The students experience puzzles along the way and while they can produce the desired result, they are not able to produce a hypothesis of “why” it works. “Each (such) reflection gave rise to new experiments and to new phenomena, troublesome or desirable, which led to further reflection and experiment.” (p176). At various stages the students were puzzled but by experimenting, drawing on an “a sense of the kinds of theories” (p176) and were moved to carry on.

In both cases Schön sees the appearance of experimenting, which he calls variously, “exploratory experiment” (1983, p145) “move-testing” (p145) and “hypothesis-testing” (p146) which he claims is distinct in a practice situation from that of the “artificial situation of the laboratory” (p149). Whilst in the laboratory this process may take place indefinitely, for the practitioner, this becomes terminated when a suitable result is arrived at but in either case it appears that the driver for the inquiry is “not-knowing”. In ETRP Schön elevates the feelings of confusion to one also of shock

“Indeed nothing is so indicative of progression in the artistry as the student’s discovery of the time it takes – time to live through the initial shocks of confusion and mystery, unlearn initial expectations, and begin to master the practice of the practicum” (1987 p311)

There is in Schön’s corpus of work no clear definition of confusion or puzzlement or of shock. His use of puzzlement and confusion occurs a number of times also in ETRP. As Schön begins with a critique of the ‘status’ of professionals and of a ‘crisis’, he seems keen to ensure that professionals take the best or the correct action in any given situation, particularly, one in which normal rules do not seemingly offer solutions. Thus, for the practitioner the situation is one in which existing knowledge does not allow an immediate solution to a problem to be offered, stimulating the individual to develop one through practice. This is arrived at by the deployment of tacit knowledge which Schön draws on from Polanyi (1967, p14) Thus the notion of confusion, shock or puzzlement for Schön is one which acts as a driver to create new knowledge. In a famous quote from Schön

“The practitioner allows himself to experience surprise, puzzlement, or confusion in a situation which he finds uncertain or unique. He reflects on the phenomenon before him, and on the prior understandings which have been implicit in his behaviour. He carries out an experiment which serves to generate both a new understanding of the phenomenon and a change in the situation.” (1983, p68)

This involves the process in which “a researcher confirms or refutes a hypothesis” (1983, p141). The impulse to engage in action is by implication a simplistic behavioural response, which will generate an answer. Whilst in the second engineering example this is not so problematic, in the first one involving a psychiatric case, this is less clear-cut. There are ethical constraints in ‘experimenting’ on human subjects, (Arendt 1998). In cases, particularly where negative reactions and where ‘experimental’ constraints are involved, it may well prevent work, particularly where the social is neglected. Issitt has drawn attention to this.

“Reflection has dangers as well as advantages (...) After all we only have to think of Narcissus for whom reflection became so self-absorbing that he was rooted to the side of a pool in which his own beauty was mirrored.” (Issitt 2003, p177)

Others also suggest that the problematic may halt rather than trigger reflection. (Mezirow 1987; Issitt 2003; Schooler and Schreiber 2005; Roberts 2006).

Additionally shock, puzzlement or confusion have a social construction, what is acceptable in one setting may be 'confusing' or shocking in another'. Particularly the notion of shock rather than puzzlement elevates the reaction of the practitioner into one that is at odds not just with technical knowledge but also of the social mores that have been broken in order to induce 'shock'. Shock in biological terms in severe cases may result in a catatonic state that precludes any action at all. Schön is talking about professional shocks and sees this as having a lesser effect resulting in 'confusion and mystery' (1987, p311). Thus Schön's claim that "changing a situation" (1983 p151) "takes precedence" is overplayed, for practitioners in the human sciences as conducting 'experiments' cannot be carried out due to ethical and moral constraints and that in fact competing knowledge may stymie rather than induce action.

Kotzee (2012, p6) in critiquing Schön argues, "the real problem regarding tacit knowledge is not making explicit the artistry of the individual, but understanding the social transmission of 'know-how'". Frost examines the social dimension more critically and suggests that reflection is becoming to be seen as "something that happens in the head of the individual practitioner, and thus the role of the wider social environment is underplayed" (2010, p15), displaying an ideal rather than a material practice. Certainly, the degree to which aspects of practices are social vary but Schön's case studies seem to neglect this by his use of dyads between 'coaches' and pupils. The implication for Schön is that the knowledge has been created with the assistance of the 'coach', it is innate within the practitioner and just requires time and the process of reflection for it to emerge.

By elevating 'reflection-in-action', to a 'new epistemology of practice' he describes how practice knowledge trumps 'theoretical knowledge'. However the discussion above shows that the process of generating new knowledge actually involves experimentation and sometimes artistry but crucially it does not happen 'in the moment' it necessitates a greater consideration of the social contexts of the knowledge generation process and how shock and puzzlement emerge and are dealt with.

2.5 DISCOMFORTS AND DILEMMAS

Having deconstructed the use of shock and puzzlement used by Schön, we turn to one of his contemporaries Boud, who too was spurred to write about the “messy” and “sometimes confusing nature of experience in order to learn new things from it” (2001, p10). For Boud, et al (1985, p18) in its simplest form reflection is “a form of response of the learner to experience” and while it may take place unconsciously or consciously, it is the latter which allows individuals to rationalise choices. He begins with concerns that while formal methods of returning to learning are available via “tests, assignments and tutorials” (1985, p11) these place the onus and the drivers on teachers and inhibit personal learning. This is anathema to Boud (1985, p11) as “only learners themselves can learn and only they can reflect on their experiences”, he sees reflection as a purposeful and complex process in which feelings and cognition are “closely inter-related”. Neglecting feelings will form barriers, whilst positive emotions enhance the learning process. The exploration of experiences may be triggered however by a ‘*discomfort*’, which lies in the former, this they take from the work of Dewey (1916) and Boyd and Fales (1983). ‘Discomfort’ as opposed to ‘shock’ seems to signify a more unconscious process and in contrast to Schön, Boud et al (1985) are keen to point out that negative experiences, either strong, citing memories of the Nazi holocaust (1985, p22) or less so in the case of inadequacy in mathematics, may act as a barrier. Drawing on Freire, Boud et al (1985, p23) place an importance of the social, political and cultural context of the experiences.

Boud et al draw on Mezirow (1978, 1981) to discuss perspective transformation which requires a heightened critical awareness of the world and may arrive by either “a sudden insight” (1985 p23) or through a “series of transitions”. For many authors the social contexts of reflection are essential and thus a “reflexivity” (D’Cruz et al 2006) with a focus on power relations as well as reflection is necessary.

For Mezirow learning is about meaning-making, drawing on interpretation, “reflection enables us to correct distortions in our beliefs and errors in problem-solving”. Furthermore “Critical reflection involves a critique of the presuppositions on which our beliefs have been built.” (1990, p1). However his search was initiated

by firstly examining what he called a “*disorienting dilemma*”²² (Marsick and Mezirow 1978; Mezirow 1978) which he saw as the first-stage in a process of enquiry, particularly when this is at odds with the individuals “world-view”.

In contrast to Schön, Mezirow suggests that a broader framing involves firstly examining surroundings feelings of shame, fear, guilt or inadequacy (Mezirow 1997) placing a focus on internal emotions rather than on a ‘solution’, residing within a humanist frame which requires a critical examination of the social circumstances . Also meaning perspectives²³ can be fixed in childhood (1991, p3) and through “learning how we are caught in our own history and are reliving it”(1991,p101).

He is keen to separate out instrumental learning which is about how things are carried out, from transformative learning in which we draw on “prior interpretation to construe a new or revised interpretation of the meaning of one’s experience in order to guide future action” (Mezirow, 1996, p162). These are affected by “distortions” for Mezirow that can be “epistemic, socio-cultural or psychic” (1991). Mezirow began his early work with Victoria Marsick in the presentation of a paper at a conference *Education for perspective transformation. Women’s re-entry programs in Community Colleges* (Marsick and Mezirow 1978; Mezirow 1978). In this instance he is interested in how ‘feminist’ knowledge can aid this and how distortions may be created by phallo-centric thinking. For Mezirow there is a social and political process here, at that time taking for example how the women’s movement (Hart 1991, p47) needed to challenge stereotypes by “providing support groups and role models” (Mezirow 1991, p3) to begin to work on gender discrimination, building on earlier work on feminist knowing (Belenky et al (1986). It is only by a concept, borrowed from Bruner (1996), of “decentration” examining multiple perspectives (Mezirow 1977, p13) that the process can begin and is not

²² For some writers this seems to have become a *distorting* dilemma but this phrase does not appear to be present in Mezirow’s work, this is perhaps explained by the juxtaposition with distortion (Mezirow:1991)

²³ Meaning perspectives are defined by Mezirow as “the structure of assumptions within which new experience is assimilated and transformed by one’s past experience during the process of interpretation”. They involve the application of habits of expectation to objects or events to form an interpretation” implying that they are embedded in past events (Mezirow:1994, p5)

necessarily, triggered automatically, “The traumatic severity of the disorienting dilemma is clearly a factor in establishing the probability of a transformation.” (1981,p7).

Like Schön and Boud, Mezirow although he uses different terms sees problem-setting as being essential in generating reflection.

“There are certain anomalies or disorienting dilemmas common to normal development in adulthood which may be best resolved only by becoming critically conscious of how and why our habits of perception, thought and action have distorted the way we have defined the problem and ourselves in relationship to it. The process involves what Freire calls ‘problem posing’, making problematic our taken-for-granted social roles and expectations and the habitual ways we act and feel in carrying them out. The resulting transformation in perspective or personal paradigm is what Freire refers to as ‘conscientization’ and Habermas as emancipatory action.” (1981,p7)

While Mezirow like Schön takes the disorienting dilemma as a ‘trigger’ (1981), a consideration of the broader field is important for him. These influences thus open Mezirow towards a much more overtly political project than that of Schön, it also removes the focus away from the merely technical. The process is also much more complex than one of ‘reflection-in-action’ as the process of overcoming ‘habits’ involves revisiting the ‘problem’ from a social, cultural and historical perspective. This necessitates a process of “critical reflectivity” (1981, p12) which Mezirow sees as having components such as

- Affective reflectivity – awareness of how our perceptions and habits have become formed
- Discriminant reflectivity – awareness of the effects of our actions on relationships
- Judgmental reflectivity – awareness of value judgments by others of our perceptions, thoughts, actions and habits

Thus, in contrast to Schön, Mezirow is focused not only on whether a solution is fit for purpose but also on a much more holistic view of its effects on both others and ourselves. In comprehending a ‘puzzle’, or ‘disorientating dilemma’ the acknowledgement that previous trauma in the face of a barrier also needs examination is a valuable one. Roberts describes effects on learners such as “many get confused and do not know what to” (2006, p101) or feel anger towards others,

stress and anxiety which in a classroom situation may lead to absenteeism or dropping out. Thus, the second stage for Mezirow is to acknowledge and re-visit these emotions brought up by the dilemma before being able to examine the ‘problem’ this is an acknowledgement of the possible power of the situation surrounding a “puzzle”.

More than Schön, Boud et al (1985) argue that knowledge is socially mediated. In particular they suggest that there may be a need for some catharsis which may be social in a group or dyad but may manifest itself in other ways “laughing, animated speech, anger or crying”, drawing on Heron (1982, p36) but this restitution is important for progress to take place. Therefore feelings, comprising part of tacit knowing need addressing in any consideration of reflection “the raw, unprocessed material of our experiences in the world can lead to sense-making when we focus on the thoughts and emotions that accompany our experiences” (Boud 2001, p11). Thus contrasting with Schön an examination of emotions and the barriers are equally important for Boud as much as the ‘puzzle’. Mezirow takes this further as the ‘disorientation’ requires an examination of power relationships

Scott suggests that Schön sees reflection-in-action as a ‘computational approach’ (2008, p115) in which learners try to assimilate experiences into an existing framework. He draws on Bruner (1996) to infer that this reifies structures and systems and thus falls short of being critical, denying agency on the part of the social actor. This for Scott is evident “There is no desire here to examine the various contexts of the work, whether they are political, ethical or consequential. The main criterion for the successful development of this process is whether it works in practice” (2008, p122). Rather this leads to a focus on the development of skills this seems at odds with Schön’s claim that reflection-in-action shows an artistry in opposition to technical rational knowledge (Schön 1983, 1987). The examination of Boud’s and Mezirow’s positions have illuminated the work by showing that while Schön’s suggestion that reflection produces ‘artistry’ to solve problems brought on by ‘puzzlement’, his neglect of the wider contexts is more perhaps about ‘bodging’ workaday fixes where discomforts and dilemmas may remain. In this way shock, particularly in puzzling situations may be about containment rather than in producing elegant, holistic and long-lasting solutions.

2.6 SUMMARY

This chapter has examined the development of RP, critiqued Schön's reflection-in-action and contrasted with two of his contemporaries. This suggests that notions of puzzlement, shock and confusion have not been sufficiently problematised within the literature. It has outlined key aspects of the literature on reflection and RP to examine how the practices have developed and policy have become shaped. In particular, it has examined how the work of Schön has been incorporated, largely uncritically and offers a primacy of 'tacit' practitioner knowledge with supposed 'artistry' thereby misappropriating a critique of 'technical rational' knowledge. This led to an ascendancy above other key works by Boud (1985) and Mezirow (1990) which put forward more liberatory and exploratory usages for reflection, via 'emotion' and 'disorientation'.

“Schön's individualistic account of what 'practice' amounts to by leaving out the social dimension fails to be able to account for how people can learn to become part of social practices or can improve at them.” (Kotzee 2012, p15)

This is presented as 'tacit' knowledge, in which the practitioner is able to 'know more than they are able to tell' (Polanyi 1967, p4), a process which often thus elevates practitioner action above constituted 'theoretical' knowledge. As Canning states “the knowing is all in the action” (2008). Foss (2010) draws on Fendler (2003)

“who suggests that the meaning of reflection is debatable and certain reflective practices such as journal writing may include unintended and undesirable effects; for example when reflection is understood as turning back on oneself, the reflection may reveal no more than what was originally known.” and “ asserts that practices of reflection may have thwarted past reform efforts.” (2010, p305)

An examination of language has shown how RP in particular, has become separated from 'mere' reflection. This fits with a neo-liberal 'neutral' ideology of placing efficiency and performativity in work situations relegating complex issues to 'problems'. It appears unlikely that the move to mentor rather than supervise teachers will aid critical reflection, being over-reliant on practice knowledge. This exploration of wider educational discourses has shown how the key elements of reflection which were available in the past through writing and mentoring have

become subject to surveillance technologies (Foucault 1988), taking on institutional forms. In this way, the ethical and emotional dimensions of reflection have become eliminated and this gives prominence to *techne* and *episteme* in preference to *phronesis*²⁴. This seems therefore to be leading to a utilitarian use of reflection. Frost “holds that reflective practice has become idealist in thinking” (2010, p15). Whereas previously there was a recourse to meta-narratives invoking ‘grand’ theory (Lyotard 1984), in training, the prevalence of models of reflection²⁵ and the displacement of wider discourses of meta-cognition as an authentic process of teacher development seems to preclude wider political questions being posed. The latest standards for teacher induction for example (DoE 2012) seem to show a greater emphasis on assessment whilst neglecting the supportive functions of the institution, particularly important given that mentoring has supplanted supervision. With regard to race and difference, the examination of structural factors that can evidence inequality, has become supplanted by procedures such as racial incident monitoring and peer-mentoring. So, rather than focusing on historical and social subjugation, embraces diversity and multicultural practice. Usher Bryant and Johnston see this as resulting in ‘practicism’ — “a position based on a privileging of the practitioner’s understanding of the ‘practical’ (1997, p129). This closes down ‘extraneous’ suggestions which involve the consideration of wider political, cultural, social and economic structures. Attention has been drawn to competing strands, such as Boud and Mezirow countering prevalent suggestions that Schönian reflection is triggered

²⁴Of use here is Flyvbjerg’s (2001) work, which questions the development of the social sciences. The emulation of natural science for Flyvbjerg presents a number of problems. He draws on the work of Hubert and Dreyfus on learning and definitions of knowledge. This suggests that rather than ‘episteme’ or ‘techne’, (Flyvbjerg takes these from the Nicomachean ethics) which take precedence there is a need to consider ‘phronesis’, translatable as “prudence or wisdom” in which dialogical interaction between researchers and informants creates a more ethical political action. The precedence of episteme and techne come from the Enlightenment and underpin the primacy of natural scientific knowledge, to produce replicable, universal truths. However knowledge of the human sciences require an examination of subjectivity also which is an important aspect of phronesis.

²⁵Noted here is the development of a number of ‘models’ (See chapter 1 section 1.2) often graphic or tabular which illustrate the reflection process, few if any of these are empirically tested. There is insufficient space to provide a detailed critique but in short they often propose a circular or linear process which embody reflection and this omits the holistic and wider elements which can often be on-going, or as suggested by ‘shock’ may stop reflection altogether.

‘innately’. It is therefore critical of how the social has become neglected, requiring more consideration of the emotional aspects of a ‘problematic’ situation.

Being stuck is not necessarily a case of ‘not knowing’ but may, especially in relation to difference, race and identity have ethical and moral components which require attention before the practitioner can act. While, ‘stuckness’ can instigate an investigation of problems with practice, questions arise about how ‘new’ knowledge is brought to the situation in relation to race. When applied to race the complex social character of work requires attention. “Shocks and puzzlement” with regard to race often do result in ‘disorienting dilemmas’ as will be explored in the case studies. This requires an examination of how race and transformational possibilities are constructed to gauge competing factors to explore whether they help, hinder or perhaps induce paralysis, this will be a focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

‘PUZZLES’ OF ‘RACE’ IN TEACHER IDENTITY (IM)POSSIBLE REALITIES ?

Alice laughed, "There's no use trying," she said; "one can't believe impossible things." "I daresay you haven't had much practice," said the Queen. "When I was younger, I always did it for half an hour a day. Why, sometimes I've believed as many as six impossible things before breakfast."
(Carrol 1865) from *Alice Through the Looking Glass*

3.1.1 INTRODUCTION – IS THIS CHAPTER REALLY NECESSARY?

The previous chapter questioned the efficacy of reflection and reflective practice as a means of critically informed action in teaching. In the opening chapter I asked, “What happened to race?” the other key strand of this thesis. Whilst earlier race formed an essential part of the education milieu and teacher identity, of late it appears to have slipped off the agenda (Gillies and Robinson 2012). Personally, having trained in the 1980s and left school teaching over twenty years ago to move into youth and community work, the transformative possibilities of teaching, a major draw to new teachers to be outlined here, with regard to race and difference now appear to be dissolving. I had felt exposed to critical spaces and dialogues on race and difference but for education practitioners now, there appears to be an absence of work on underachievement and under-representation with regard to BME students (Pilkington 2014).

The prevailing argument is one which suggests that a post-racial society (Nayak; 2006) has emerged in Britain, seemingly buttressed by the presence of BME people in senior positions. This tokenistic representation has led to the, the ‘shocks’ and ‘puzzles’ of race becoming muted, bringing with it the suggestion that ‘essentialist’ accounts which took a ‘realist’ position, building on the identity politics of the 80’s and 90’s are no longer required, as the goal of equality has been ‘reached’. Per se, racial discrimination, is no longer seen as a major issue in education. This chapter unpicks the basis of these claims by examining how the practice of teaching has been subject to political forces which erase the practice of work on difference while presenting teacher identity as a transformative force only as part of a meritocratic

system for neutralised pupil ‘academic’ achievement. The radical anti-racist Marxist-inspired critiques that stimulated changes have become removed from ITE and teacher CPD.

3.1.2(IM) POSSIBLE REALITIES



Fig.3a Escher (Waterfall)

This chapter takes its inspiration from the print, Waterfall and an exhibition by the Dutch artist M C Escher (2011) who presents plausible scenes that cannot exist in a three-dimensional reality. There is a parallel here with race which has been theoretically ‘painted’ in many different forms but which seems to elude fixing in ‘real’ life. For those of us in education we often produce depictions of a ‘reality’ in which we present our abilities to transcend race but often

find despite our best endeavours that we are frustratingly unable to attain our goal of equality and achievement for all children. A challenge that is taken up by advocates for institutional ethnography (Campbell and Gregor 2002; Smith 1999, 2005; DeVault 2006; McCoy 2006), concerned with how institutional structures prevent well-meaning actors from helping disenfranchised groups and in fact making them complicit in actions that can further reinforce discriminatory practices.

The trick that Escher uses is to depict the scene in two flattened dimensions, however what seems eminently real from this perspective becomes elusive in three dimensions. This chapter critiques teacher identity and race in education as two elusive dimensions which when presented in a flattened manner offer possibilities of transformation but when mapped into higher dimensions of policy, history and theory present (im)possibilities particularly when the temporal location is taken into account.

Teacher identity particularly, is viewed as being ‘transformative’ in relation to achievement discourses but when applied specifically to race this requires an educational process which critiques dominant histories and power relations in society. This provides a challenge to the notion of meritocracy (see later) a leading narrative in education, which too presently brings with it, possibilities of ‘transformation’. This notion, explored below is a complex one and just one component of teacher identity. In relation to other elements its presence creates teaching as an influential vocation with a clear ‘transformational’ purpose, often celebrated in popular culture (Weber and Mitchell 1995; Ellesmore 2005), as a preponderant, altruistic narrative, used to attract trainees into the profession (TDA 2012).

Menter et al (2010) provide a crucial typology of teacher professional identity in a comprehensive literature review, breaking into four components the transformative, reflective, effective and the enquiring teacher²⁶. Thereby providing a useful summary particularly in light of the themes touched on in this chapter. While these are expressed discretely, they overlap in many situations. A critical examination of these aspects helps to detail the conflicts and confluences, creating a complex mix of teacher identity, which has been subject to a range of factors to provide normative constructions of the profession. As in the Escher print though, some aspects of identity are not as they seem and the chapter examines the disjunctures this creates in respect of race.

²⁶These are not the only typologies of teacher identity see for example. (Goodson and Cole 1994; Gardner 1995; Volkmann and Anderson 1998; Coldron and Smith 1999; Connelly and Clandinin 1999; Samuel and Stephens 2000; Woods and Jeffrey 2002)

3.1.3. THE FLOWS OF POLICY IN TEACHER IDENTITY

Removing other elements of the picture to focus tightly on a section of the image, through the close-up below, gives the impression that the bottom section of the aqueduct from the waterwheel runs downhill, as the returning stream appears to flow gently away from the wheel in the plunge pool.



Fig.3b Escher (Waterfall)

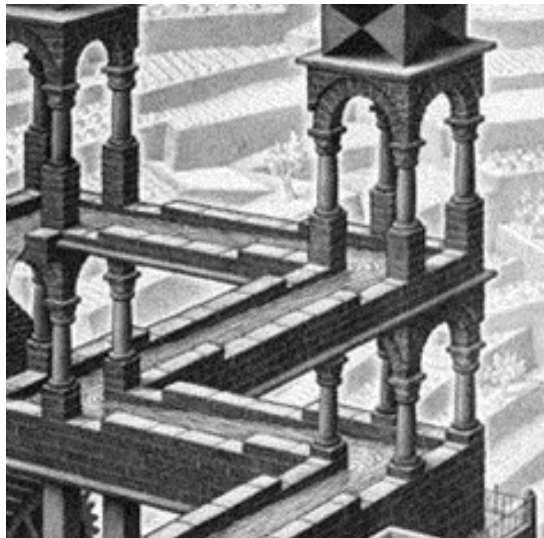


Fig 3c Escher (Waterfall)

In the magnified section here (Fig 3c) however, the twists and turns of the 'return' journey are not completely clear. The direction of the flow could be either upwards or downwards, presenting a visual puzzle. The pillars are in fact impossible to create in three dimensions. Also in the print, there are four sections of the aqueduct

corresponding perhaps to the four elements in Menter et al's (2010) typology that require examination. It is not possible from this perspective to see the extent to which the components dominate, seemingly all being equal in length. There are from the image no discernible differences in flow. Whilst presented as discrete, they

intermingle with each other with the stream permeating the length and may flow in line with or against the flow of gravity. This chapter examines how the flows of policy in education respond to historical and social circumstances and the impact of these on the four aspects of teacher identity and how the pillars of race and professional identity fluctuate.

Perpetual motion, an impossibility depicted in “Waterfall”, perhaps like transformation, only works if there is an acceptance that agency like water can flow uphill against the flow of gravity or in the case of agency against the institutional and political forces of society. This tallies with Escher’s work, which operates through distorting perspectives to produce seemingly achievable but impossible art pieces. The subtle re-working of lines in his drawings enable the seemingly impossible to become realised, this chapter reveals how in regard to education flows of teacher identity too can become re-engineered, through manipulation.

Accompanied by a critical examination of the literature on race education and its effects on professional teacher identity, this chapter critiques the effectiveness of RP as a mechanism for transformation. In an examination of race, ‘lower-dimensional’, simplistic strategies, such as meritocratic approaches (see below) may very well work in theory but through shifting viewpoints, in close-up reveals flaws. Conceptions of race, mirroring the twists of the aqueducts and the ebbs and flows of the streams of policy, enable us to see how shock and puzzlement become (re)constructed and how this overlaps with teacher identity discourses. IE by focusing on localised ‘talk’ and practices, examines how institutional discourses, resident as texts, enter the language to create everyday interaction (Smith 2005, pp 68-9) and needs close analysis to reveal how flows of power from documentary texts shape wider ruling relations and appear to mesh with teacher identity but present impossible demands. LaMontagne points out that Escher’s works are not only “*visually* ambiguous or impossible but sometimes also *conceptually* so” (2005, p67). This chapter in the next two sections contributes to a critical examination of how shifting constructions of race and teacher identity result in conceptual ambiguity in relation to equality, allowing for the creation of (im)possibilities.

3.2 THE (IM)POSSIBILITY OF RACE

3.2.1. MOMENTS OF RACE

In the Escher sketch the seemingly firm lines of the structure bring about an impossible set of events. Highlighting the distortions enable us to see how differing conceptions of race and teacher identity move to operate against the pull of gravity. Agency is paralleled with gravity, by the ability of teachers to enable underachieving groups to succeed in the education system. This section examines how the pillar of race has been constructed overtime to help comprehend the differing critical reflective spaces within and its ability to overcome that pull.

While Escher's print works in harmony, on closer inspection, contradictions such as the 'impossible' pillars become more visible. In this way this chapter shows how the current predilection with the effective teacher discourses, supposedly being the most appropriate way to bring about equality of opportunity (See DoE 2012a²⁷) are in fact a smokescreen. Applying the analogy of zooming in and out of different elements of the picture provides access to alternative perspectives of the (trans)formative aqueduct. When applied to race this firstly requires an understanding of how it fluctuates.

A critical examination of the 'moments' of race and their corresponding historical and political contexts demonstrates how differing formations of teacher (in)action have been set and the key influences at each stage. The shifts in the moments of race have occurred not in a natural evolutionary way but as this chapter shows have been due to systemic 'shocks' and within each teacher agency has operated differently.

They are summarised as

1. Assimilationist (aka Laissez Faire)
2. Multicultural
3. Anti-racist
4. Majoritarian
5. Post-race

²⁷ The Current DoE 's response to Equality Act 2010

3.2.2 SHOCKING (IN)ACTION

Initially educational ramifications of race were given little thought with l'aissez faire, assimilationist approaches being applied (Tomlinson 2008). Suggesting that 'new' migrants needed to bend to the white majority,

“a national system (of education) cannot be expected to perpetuate the values of immigrant groups” (CIAC 1964)

The emphasis on migrants fitting into British systems and culture, failed to take into account the reasons for the increased presence of non-white people, mainly from the 'New' Commonwealth in the UK. Echoing an early application of 'Whiteness', though the term had yet to be invented. It was noted that the lowest paying and least socially acceptable jobs were being taken mainly by BME migrants (Sivanandan 1990, p66), though not widely investigated (Brah 1996). Although cries of increased affluence and social mobility emerged at this time (see for example Goldthorpe et al's classic study *The Affluent Worker* (1969), these largely bypassed the migrants of the 50s and 60s, who stubbornly remained economically at the bottom (Smith 1977).

Assimilationist work embodied in Paterson's work *Dark Strangers* (1965) initially prevailed and commented on much later by Bauman in his stimulating essay, the *Making and Unmaking of Strangers* in which he discusses how the creation of the modern nation state has changed how outsiders are viewed. He suggests that the early strategy was

“anthropagic: annihilating the strangers by devouring them and then metabolically transforming them into a tissue indistinguishable from one's own” (1997, p18).

As can be seen very recently (Ross 2014) and in various political 'cri de coeurs' over time the focus on English language acquisition as a means of assimilation was a means to achieve this. In the early seventies, the focus on language however was soon seen to be ineffective and unconnected to wider social problems including housing, workplace discrimination and media depictions. Although educational 'race problems' were viewed initially as one of language teaching (DES 1965) other structural problems came to light as Coard's (1971) seminal study on Black young men revealed. Teachers were aware very early of these problems and produced

critical responses (Mc Neal and Rogers 1971; NAME 1984; ALTARF 1980, 1984; Green 1982). This educational response saw the development of “cultural pluralism” (Rose et al 1969) heralding the arrival of multicultural work which aimed to bring about understanding and tolerance (ILEA 1977; DES 1981) through educational intervention. Also destabilising simplistic assimilation was periodic racial conflict (Lawrence 1982).

It was however much later on, not until the publication of the *Swann Report* (1985) that concerted central state action was taken. Arguably this produced the first collective institutional 'shocks' as the scale of the problem particularly for Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi young men as their 'failures' in the education system came to light, clearly undermining meritocratic claims. These 'institutional' shocks created ripples in teacher education and training and produced large scale changes, with resources for race in education. (Troyna and Carrington 1990) and was seen at the time as less an effectiveness problem rather than a societal one.

Accompanying this was the increased militancy of Black communities who in the words of the popular slogan were “Here to Stay, Here to Fight” (Ramamurthy 2006, p46), beginning to take part in community action, providing supplementary education (Simon 2007) and challenging racism in the schools. Even supporting children to walk safely to schools in areas where there was intimidation by adults (Ramamurthy 2013, p47). These community-led objections put the onus on the state to review its practices. For example the first large-scale education conflicts took place around the bussing of Asian children in Southall introduced via ‘Boyle’s Law’ (Cashmore 1996, p62). This led to a maximum ‘quota’ of 30% migrant children making up a school and once exceeded led to their ‘dispersal’ in order to ‘dilute’ racial mixes in 1965. These early ‘shocks’ in education began to disrupt the landscape as parents challenged the inequity of this. Arguably based on ‘culture’ rather than ‘race’, confronting the “racist assumption that schools with a large proportion of non-white students are inherently inferior to those in which white students are in the majority” (Cashmore 1996, p62). This only became dropped following threatened action from parents via the newly formed Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), showing how communitarian opposition to racist practices could bring about change and how simple assimilationist approaches could not be

applied. Challenged too by Coard's work (1971) *How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System: The Scandal of the Black Child in Schools in Britain*, the discovery of institutional racism emerged here and paved the way for the second and third moments of multiculturalism and anti-racism. The first critical spaces therefore, began to be created by parents/activists and were not initiated through natural foresight by education policymakers or politicians. Thus, early attempts at assimilation failed and with the arrival of legislation, began more interventionist approaches with changes in teacher training and resources on culture as of 'race' began to populate the sensitivities of education professionals.

3.2.3 EARLY CRITICAL SPACES FOR RACE THE SECOND AND THIRD MOMENTS

As Coard's work, followed later by Maureen Stone's landmark book *Education of the Black Child in Britain: The Myth of Multiracial Education* (1981) clearly highlighted institutionally racist practices in school, particularly in relation to African-Caribbean young men. This was accompanied by pressure from bodies such as the CRE²⁸, NAME²⁹ and BPM³⁰ that highlighted the poor achievement and high exclusion rates as well as racial harassment experienced by Black and Asian children. Practitioners too began to respond with suggestions (McNeal and Rogers; 1971; ILEA 1977; ALTARF 1980; Green 1982) that multicultural perspectives should involve the use of the curriculum to encourage children to share and learn about cultural practices. Anti-racist positions were developed from critical pedagogy (Section 3.4), which required a critique of social, historical, cultural and political practices in society (IRR 1982a, 1982b 1985, 1986) emerged. Both approaches have educational components with consequences for the curriculum and teaching. Although facing opposition this created changes in the curriculum revising teaching

²⁸ Commission for Racial Equality

²⁹ National Anti-racist Movement in Education established in 1971 published the journal *Multiracial Schools* formed from the Association for the Education of Pupils from Overseas (ATEPO) in response to the lack of research.

³⁰ Black Parents' Movement was an active campaigning group extant from 1975 to the mid-1980s. For more details refer to the George Padmore Institute Website

about the history, language and the British Empire. It began to show the contributions of Black scientists and mathematicians. This created dialogue right across all areas of the curriculum, resulting in critical spaces and action being created for teachers in schools; within teacher unions (NUT 1979; 1992); in ITE as well as post-qualifying education networks. (ARTEN 1988) engaging teachers at all levels to see how the curriculum needed modification. Critical spaces provided opportunities for re-evaluation and synthesis of teaching approaches and content.

Arguably, the growth of this work really took off through the implementation of the *Swann Report*, through extending the special provisions of Section 11 (1966). This created the duty for all local authorities to implement measures to tackle racism. Swann decreased the local government contribution from 50% to 25% (Tomlinson 2008, p31) and this saw the development of a large swathe of multicultural and anti-racist work carried out by a new workforce of teachers, teacher educators and multicultural advisors. Whilst prior to Swann these funds had been largely used for language support in schools, a more enlightened attitude saw much broader use with other local authority departments drawing on this, often to create equality officers in housing, youth and community work as well as in libraries and arts-based work. (Matthews and Roper 1994). In particular, in teaching the establishment of multicultural education centres often with an advisory team (Mullard 1983, p164) led to the widespread development of services.

The recognition that race work required targeted funding was important, the use of 'Baker' training days to examine race and difference was a not uncommon practice (Bagley 1995). Although embraced by many teachers, this created ripples and opposition also were experienced (Bagley 1995). Undoubtedly, hard questions began to be asked about the implications for teachers and teaching: how to implement work on race, with sophisticated dialogues and forums being created in schools, in LEA policy, teacher education and national policy. This led to the examination of other areas such as housing and immigration as awareness grew of the impact of race on the lives of BME children and how the social environment impacted on their ability to learn. Arguably, this holistic approach provided an integrated examination of how the education system enforced structural inequality but was clearly linked to situational factors such as housing and employment,

providing teachers with insights as they became acquainted with the problems encountered by non-white communities.

While held to be dangerous by some (Palmer 1986), depicted as ‘race spies’ by the popular press (Mail on Sunday 1986) undoubtedly this allowed the development of some radical work on race though the vast majority was fairly low key information about language, religion and cultural practices. It moved the work into if not the mainstream, into local government practice. In fact much left-leaning scholarship often dismissed it as being not radical enough (Mullard 1984; Brandt 1986; Bonnett 1990)

Most vehement in their demands for equality legislation had been groups associated with identity politics and as race, gender, sexuality and disability beginning to become discussed in wider contexts and their intersections too were explored. (See for example Preston and Bhopal 2012). Anti-racists drew attention to a host of structural problems, (Coard 1971; Stone 1981; ALTARF 1980, 1984; CRE 1988, Gaine 1987, 1995; Mac an Ghail 1988; Mirza 1992; Blair 2001; Majors 2001; Richardson 2007; Gillborn 2008). In education many CPD (Continuing Professional Development) courses were run by HE institutions, as well as by LEAs and post-graduate programmes in multicultural and anti-racist education were offered by universities and polytechnics. (Tomlinson 1996, p37)

Marxism had seemed to form a bedrock of early work in the 1960s and 1970s on identity. Particularly in the UK, in terms of race, the relationship with empire, the exploitation of colonial lands and the movement of labour (Fanon 1967; Castles and Kosack 1973). Marxism was instrumental in the founding of critical theory during and after the Frankfurt School which developed much work on radical education and led on to important questions about difference in Western society (Marcuse 1964, 1966; Horkheimer and Adorno 1972; Althusser 1977; Horkheimer 1982; Walby 1990). Critical theory was influential in the development of cultural studies, particularly after Althusser (1977) and in Britain generated work on race, based on empirical work in schools eg (Hall and Jefferson 1976; Carby 1982) as well as work on using Marxist cultural theory on race in education (Rex 1971; hooks 1985, 1993; Miles 1989) .

Even from the earliest days there was clear opposition to more radical views of race in education. See for example (Honeyford 1982)

“ In my view, the problem of inter-group conflict in multi-racial schools - which is what most so-called racism actually is - is best tackled in three ways: the establishment of a proper moral education and atmosphere in the school; the exposure of all our children, whatever their background, to that great British cultural tradition which binds us all together. And the rejection of 'anti-racist education' (and the dismantling of the bureaucratic apparatus which supports it).”

This intimated that open discussions about race and difference only exacerbate conflict, perpetuated by members of the neo-conservative Hillgate Group (1986, 1987, 1988) . O’Hear was critical of the content of teacher training which valued “social engineering” rather than “worthwhile forms of knowledge” (Hillgate 1988, p22; see also Palmer 1986). It appears that anti-racism fell into this category, being dependent upon a reappraisal of Empire along with close scrutiny of the economic and political relationships of capital that brought migrants to the UK (Sivanandan 1982, 1990) and inherent in Marxist informed critiques. It was this work that faced real opposition being seen as a political act of indoctrination by the right. (Hillgate 1987)

Arguably it was at this time that critical spaces and dialogues reached their height as race education took an central place in ITE (Tomlinson 1996, p 21-44) and was an integral part of LEA multicultural training. Later it was enshrined in school development plans after the MacPherson (1999) report providing multiple opportunities for teachers to critique the practice of race in education. However Tomlinson (1996 p39) dates it to the implementation of the Education Reform Act (1988) which by beginning the marketisation of schools, pulled attention not to equality but to achievement in education.

3.2.4 EDUCATION, EDUCATION, EDUCATION AND THEN WHAT?

While MacPherson had arguably provided some real with duties to be met in schools (1999), it was perhaps a false dawn. MacPherson provided stark reading for policy-makers as institutional racism was seen to be pervasive in British education systems,

“If racism is to be eradicated there must be specific and co-ordinated action both within the agencies themselves and by society at large, particularly through the educational system, from pre-primary school upwards and onwards” (1999, 6.54)

This gave structural weight to reforms such as the remaking of the curriculum (ibid 6.56) , to place “zero tolerance on racism” (ibid 7.42) but it also introduced the monitoring of “standards” on race in education (ibid 46.37). In this way, paving the way for the RRA (2000) which by setting targets from recommendations of the Macpherson Report (1999, 47.2) arguably produced a managerialist approach to race, seen as necessary due to “collective organisational failure” (1999, 6.22) and to ensure an auditing process.

The election of Labour had provided hope, or as Tomlinson (2008, p126) dubs it “ a giddy rush” for many of the left-leaning groups in education, it soon transpired that the ‘Third Way’ (Giddens 1998) advocated by the incoming government wished to tackle the situation in their own way. This involved “choice and competition in schooling, with education developing as a market commodity driven by consumer demands.” (Tomlinson 2008, p127) With a focus in education of providing ‘choice’, rather than ‘imposing equity’ through centralised rhetoric. Tied mainly as a vehicle via citizenship, with Crick’s work (1998), being seen as a central focus. There were multiple attempts to reinvent and reclaim ‘nationality’ (Faulks 2006; Dwyer 2010) and arguably this was part of a Bauman’s anthropagic strategy, cited earlier as Britishness became recast, just like the pliant lines in Escher’s painting.

Labour too faced their own shocks with rioting in the Northern Towns (Kalra 2002) and in responding to 9/11. The former events produced the Ouseley (2001)/Cantle (2001) enquiries and the Ritchie report (2001), introducing the new language of Community Cohesion. This provided problems for Crick’s citizenship project which after 7/7 became affected by *the Preventing Violent Extremism* (PVE)³¹ agenda (Thomas 2009) which some saw as a means by which to target Muslims (Miah 2013b) adding to the complexities of teaching about race. It was controlled

³¹ Preventing Violent Extremism This is developed further in chapter 7, often shortened to Prevent it was billed as a “community-led approach to tackling violent extremism” and ran from 2007 (DCLG 2007) . Built as a response to 7/7 it was heavily criticised for the emphasis on surveillance and intelligence-gathering with poor definition of what constituted ‘extremism’. (Kundanani; 2009).

centrally, in stark contrast to Section 11 and later EMAG funding which was locally managed.

“Local authorities have been pressured to accept Prevent funding indirect proportion to the numbers of Muslims in their area – in effect, constructing the Muslim population as a ‘suspect community’” (Kundnani 2009, p6) .

Exacerbated by the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, seen by some as a challenge to notions of belonging and Britishness (Phillips 2008) and creating an ‘enemy within’ of Muslim communities, the education agenda had shifted for Tomlinson and resulted in an

“evangelical emphasis on education as a major means of improving the nation’s economic competitiveness, with pupils, schools and universities subject to more accountability through testing, inspections and funding regimes” (2008, p158)

This of course foregrounds the meritocratic pretensions for education but within a centralised NPM³² model. Increasingly resources for anti-racist and multicultural work began to disappear, to become more ‘targeted’. Section 11 resources, were transferred into the EMAG³³ (later EMTAG³⁴) in 1999 which also became managed more centrally (Phillips 2002, p194) with a greater focus on outcomes. EMAG deployment was criticised by the Cabinet Office (2003) which suggested, that it was poorly distributed and placed too much emphasis on language, when there were other equally pressing issues in relation to race discrimination. Later it was used to establish specialist work such as Aiming High (2003) (Tikly et al 2006) supposedly tied more closely to achievement discourses but with less focus on the curriculum. Resources were provided for specialised staff but one of the criticisms was the colour-blind approach in schools (Tikly et al 2006, p51) However, put down to the economic downturn this work disappeared entirely by the end of Labour’s tenure. This effectively removed race support from schools erasing critical spaces and resources. With the ‘mainstreaming’ of EMAG by the coalition (2012) it appears to have become general funding for any aspect of schooling with no monitoring of how it operates. (Jones 2011; DoE 2012)

³² New Public Management

³³ Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant

³⁴ Ethnic Minority and Traveller Achievement Grant

3.2.5 THE MAJORITARIAN MOMENT

The onset of the majoritarian ‘moment’ began with some visible changes noted by Chris Gaine where UK audiences were now “pretty familiar with black and Asian faces on TV screens, in pop music, in football teams and in a few high profile positions in public life.” (Gaine 2005, p3). With the visible presence of non-white faces on TV, in parliament, and perhaps even in some boardrooms inferred equality. The Joseph Rowntree Foundation however (Palmer and Kenway 2007), pointed out that the poorest households included a disproportionate number of Pakistani and Bangladeshi households suggesting that supporters of the meritocratic position had perhaps over-claimed their position.

Under New Labour teacher education was accompanied by the decrease of training on race and difference (Bhopal et al 2009; Wilkins and Lall 2010; Hick et al 2011). Arguably removing foundational knowledge reduces the ability of teachers to address race holistically. Without an understanding of the material base Banerji (2011, p136), warned that “issues of class and capital would be considered unnecessary”. In particular, “anti-racism ...becomes more a question of multiculturalism and ethnicity, as the socially relational aspects of racialization embedded in the former are converted into a cultural demand”. This as Malik states has led to “celebration of marginality, of parochialism and indeed of oppression” (1995, p265). This seems to fit the picture at present where many teachers lack the surety of how to address race in the classroom (Pearce 2014, p402). The primary discourses in teacher training and education are about technical competence and behaviour management which Bernstein refers to as being “instructional and regulative” (2000, p188). Kaplan (2011) is critical of meritocratic discourses in relation to race in education, citing a number of factors including biases in tests, higher exclusion rates (see Carlile 2012), behaviour management (Gillies and Robinson 2012) and the lack of BME teachers (McNamara et al 2011).

The combination of the equality bodies into the EHRC began here in 2007, established via the Equality Act (2006), with work taking on the label of ‘diversity’ and ‘equity’ as New Labour produced a transference into more generalised equality agendas. Equality work was not immune to NPM rhetoric and began to be assigned targets and monitoring (Wilson and Iles 1999). Though as Osler and Morrison

mused “Can race equality be inspected ?” (2002) being critical of ineffectual inspection, where OFSTED inspectors themselves were often poorly informed about what constituted good community cohesion work (See also Wilkins 2014). These events ushered in the majoritarian phase (Delgado 1991; Gillborn 2009) as racist speech and acts became seen as shibboleths, particularly through the development of legislation and policy (Swann Report 1985; RRA 2000). To provide alternative narratives that suggest the impact of racism had lessened. The majoritarian phase, was supported too by narratives that highlighted BME individuals and groups who were able to attain success. For CRT scholars this buttresses “racial and social privilege” (Yosso 2006, p9) and consequently has laid a path for the post-race position which affirms meritocratic claims of educational systems. Yosso notes how majoritarian narratives tend to “silence or dismiss people who offer evidence contradicting (these) racially unbalanced portrayals” (2006, p9).

This section shows how although an education mantra was espoused by Labour, clearly it was accompanied by ‘bends’ in policy which removed dedicated work on race. Implemented a stronger NPM approach to education that with respect to race resulted in its amalgamation with broader equality work; failed to demonstrate how management by outcomes could improve equality; and began the greater surveillance of Muslim communities via the PVE agenda. While there is a greater visible evidence of ‘diversity’, the extent to which this results in greater equality is not clear. Whilst New Labour began with promise, its yoking of education to achievement produced a transitional phase that suggested that racism was on the wane, as some individuals broke through the ‘glass ceiling’.

3.2.6 CRITICAL RACE THEORY AND THE LIMITS OF ‘RIGHTS’

I am going to return here to revisit my personal puzzle of how much of the passion and fervour about race in education had dissipated. For anti-racists the possibilities of collective action seemed to have disappeared. Even very large-scale political protests such as the Iraq War marches had not swayed the government and thus the unity aimed for by Marxist influenced writers did not seem to bear fruit. As doubts grew about the efficacy of joint action, CRT (Critical Race Theory) in the UK began to explore how the social landscape of race had adapted as it took on a legalistic

identity and to counter the majoritarian stance in which “black British people are depicted in passive, atrophied form as mere policy objects” (Warmington 2012, p7). Having ‘won’ various ‘rights’ it appears that we are expected to fade into the background.

Integral to this thesis is the application of CRT, that highlights how racism is not abnormal but a part of everyday institutional structures. Ladson-Billings (1998), fired up by her own experience of being mistaken as a serving-maid in a hotel, despite being a professor began to think about how to situate CRT in education (Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995; Taylor et al 2009). CRT infers that that progress only occurs when it benefits the white majority, drawing on Marxist theory (Taylor 1999) known as “interest convergence³⁵” (Bell 1980). This suggests that an analysis of the motives for changes are not through inherent ‘decent, liberal’ approaches but one that takes place only through political pressure and implies that any ‘measures’ to ameliorate inequality need a clear analysis to examine the benefits. This is echoed above where the largest changes occurred in the UK when Black communities, activists and academics pushed for changes.

A corollary of this is how CRT also examines how different interest groups are ‘played off’ against each other (Bell 2008, pp719-739). For example the depiction of American-Asians as “model minorities” (Chang 1993) and thus the importance of intersectionality is an essential part of CRT in examining ‘difference’ (Crenshaw 1991; Hill-Collins 1990, 1993; Delgado and Stefancic 2001; Anderson and McCormack 2010; Bhopal and Preston 2011; Vincent et al 2012). This counters the simplistic unity that Marxist anti-racists suggested could be used to overcome ‘false consciousness’ (Matsuda 1991, Hill 2001) examining divisions more coherently and

³⁵ Idealists suggest that ‘advances’ in racial thinking are a progressive feature of Western civilisation. (Delgado and Stefancic 2001, p 17) Bell prefers to see these rather as concessions made only when changes equally benefit White majorities. Therefore, Bell suggested that the famous *Brown vs Board of Education* judgement, was only conceded to demonstrate that American capitalism was a better system than the Russian Communism that was highly critical of the segregation of schooling by race. This allows revisionist versions of history to emerge where the gaining of legal rights are claimed by elites of changes being forced by altruistic ‘mass’ social support rather than a steady opposition. It does not, in the long term contribute to material changes, as racism is a normal part of Western capitalism (Bell 2006).

which has been a critique of its application to campaigning identity groups, an inherent part of my puzzle.

CRT requires narratives to be rooted in the material experiences of oppressed groups that by inhabiting “liminal spaces”, mean “those excluded from the centre can experience a certain profound analytical insight that is, “beyond the normative boundary of the conception of Self/Other” (Rollock 2012, p66) and draws on the lived experience of Black groups. This clearly dovetails with IE. CRT suggests, that post-racism can be traced back to victories in terms of the granting of rights or protection to minority ethnic groups and is supported by majoritarian stories that offer accounts of individual success. While much vaunted at times, legal discourses suggest that individuals rather than having to undertake mass protest in order to ensure that rights are upheld can put their faith in the legal system. The setting up of punitive measures via the Race Relations Act (1976) did allow for this but this did not address institutional failures such as the underachievement of Black young men (Coard 1971; Swann 1985) or the glass-ceiling for Black women, doubly oppressed through race and gender (Bryan et al 1985) . It was due to challenges such as these that CRT³⁶ emerged from critical legal studies (CLS) and critically examined the place of class. However, Rollock and Gillborn explain that CRT Scholars, “came to the view that it (CLS) failed to engage usefully with the reality of racism by reductively positioning it as simply analogous to class- based discrimination”, (2011) aligning it with simplistic Marxist approaches. While the use of legal and rights approaches to race have provided some success, CRT suggests that the adoption of legislation in fact prevents dialogue (Bell 1973; Matsuda 1986; Crenshaw 1988; Jones 2002), which is necessary for education about race to take place. CRT argues that more nuanced intersectional approaches to race are necessary due to the greater fluidity and cultural hybridity of race. (Crenshaw 1989, 1991)

The consequent rise of post-racism, described in the preceding sections, can be partially explained by one of the tenets of CRT, narrative and the accompanying use of counter-narrative. As the use of majoritarian stories impose Whiteness through

³⁶A popular claim, however others argue that CRT emerged under the influence of earlier writers such as Gooding, Dubois, Fanon building on a tradition of Black resistance

accounts of individual Black or minority ethnic success. Crucial here is the accord with a meritocratic agenda, suggesting that individual application is sufficient to allow people to succeed and thus upholds Whiteness³⁷. This suggests a storied approach where Love suggests that majoritarian narratives involve,

“The description of events as told by members of dominant/majority groups, accompanied by the values and beliefs that justify the actions taken by dominants to ensure their dominant position” (2004, p228)

Arguably, with rights-based discourses appearing to have met their limits, CRT explains part of my puzzle of how the ‘appearance’ of equality is now embedded within practices in schools and Muslims particularly in the UK, have become ‘othered’ (Kundnani 2014). This has come through the development of citizenship and nationality discourses which have caused religious splits particularly for South Asian communities which earlier had some political unity (Ramamurthy 2013). Thus, the use of CRT offers explanations for the demise of activism and splits between oppressed groups. The final section on race examines how active anti-racism has become ‘tamed’.

3.2.7 WHATEVER HAPPENED TO ANTI-RACISM?

“Racism is not what it used to be. Ideas of “race, racisms and anti-racisms are in constant motion” (Lee and Lutz 2005, p3)

The discussion above in this section has critically examined events on the timeline of race policy in education. The most active voices for reform were from anti-racists (ALTARF 1980, 1984; Carby 1982; Green 1982; Brandt 1986; Bonnett 1990; Sivanandan 1982, 1990; Troyna and Hatcher, 1992; Troyna 1993). However, along with other strands of identity politics they appear to have dissipated. Post-structuralist criticism, after Lyotard (1984) with the refutation of grand narratives, suggest that there are no teleological courses in society and in this respect race is not different as the currents of policy rise and fall. This section highlights three

³⁷ Defined simply as “the ideology and way of being in the world that is used to maintain White supremacy”. (Picower 2009, p198) The field of Whiteness studies emerged to examine how counter-narratives produced by white supremacists in reclaiming White ‘identities’ can reify race and reveal ‘reverse’ discrimination (see Garner 2007), suggesting an imbalance to justify the removal of ‘special treatment’.

important themes, firstly the influence of the market that impose Whiteness, secondly the hybridity of culture which called the binary positions posited by early anti-racism into question and finally the adoption of 'state' anti-racism which removed the communitarian basis underpinning earlier campaigns.

The move to achievement discourses central to the 'marketisation' of education has played a part in displacing race, Tomlinson (1996, p37) forecast following the Education Reform Act (1988) that the pressures of 'performativity' in education would stifle protest. Although being presented as being context-free, assessment may through cultural bias impede BME learners (Gorard 2000; Gillborn and Mirza 2000; Stevens 2007; Strand 2012), this results in uncritical accounts of meritocracy that infer achievement is independent of the curriculum and teacher attitudes. Tests and measures are part of a social construction of education tools and academic assessment, which can maintain White privilege and where deprivation reinforces league table positions, often in areas with large BME populations. (Gillborn 2008, p101)

Also central to Whiteness, is how conservatives move to increase the teaching of "Fundamental British values" (DoE 2012c, p8), as seen in the teacher Standards (DoE 2012a) and to embed it in the curriculum, this provides an endogamous relationship which perpetuates European western structures in the drive for 'achievement'. Whiteness brings into question dissenting views of 'Britishness', which require a much more complex analysis. Keddie points out that, "while Britishness may not be an inherently racist concept, it does carry racial connotations that impact on the extent to which minority groups affiliate with Britain" (2013 p2). Which for Kundnani aims to "dissolve 'alien cultures' into a monolithic Britishness" (2007, p133).

Building on Berger and Luckman (1967) and Giddens (1994) structuration, Guess (2006) argues that Whiteness shows how race is constructed to produce privilege. The presentation of 'race work' as 'bureaucracy' by Honeyford (1982) reinforced more recently by Cameron (2012) suggests that the monitoring of inequality and active anti-racist approaches destabilise social relations, with an inference that there are no structural components to racism. Whilst espousing teacher control the current

government's position on Mary Seacole by removing her from the National curriculum (Rawlinson 2013) is an illustration of how Whiteness is reinforced and attempts are made to silence critics (Spafford 2013).

The move to post-racism is not one that comes solely from the political right. Other voices have been added to this, Gilroy and others would have us move 'beyond race' (2001), consigning 'raceology' as he puts it to the dustbin. It is however, the hybridisation of race with other elements in particular religion that prevails at present (Werbner and Modood 1997) and this is embedded in 'culture' rather than biological modes of 'race'. The move to a cultural examination of race difference is a key feature of Malik's *The Meaning of Race* (1996) which explains how the movement of race from the biological to the cultural has led to protectionist leanings within some minority groups, leading to greater insularity.

Taken up particularly by supporters of multicultural approaches (Kymlicka 1995; Modood 2007) by offering legal recourses they draw on political philosopher John Rawls, popular in the 70s, who suggests that liberal approaches to justice, protect minority groups and creates greater cohesion in society. This arguably may protect particular cultural practices even when they create conflicts between groups. Such as the current use of Halal food in mainstream fast food chains (Day 2014), depicted in some sections of the press as being against British values purportedly as an animal rights issue. Alternative views might be that is a distraction that seeks to further separate and 'other', some minority groups.

The implications of the shift from the biological is one which Alana Lentin examines, "This is a state which emanates from "a deepening culturalization of politics in which the post-race argument belongs to a post-political logic that shuns *political* explanations of unrest and widening disintegration in favour of reductive culturalist ones." (Lentin 2012a). This causes some interesting reactions; witness the English Defence League's purported support for gay rights. (Allen 2011) with claims of organised Sikh and Jewish supporters (Copsey 2010) and they now purport to be 'anti-racist'. Lentin (2012b) suggests that "In post-racial ideology 'real racism', is a thing of the past embodied in historical events like the Holocaust, Apartheid and slavery". Thus shock or puzzlement does not become attached to

daily events but is only accorded for particular sanctioned elements such as Black History Month, where revisionist versions of events isolate ‘racists’ suggesting that prejudice and discrimination are no longer present.

Lentin provides a very useful critique of how this has come to pass. She notes the heterogeneity of anti-racism (2008) and the development of anti-racism particularly in Europe but also at various times in the UK, has led to the development of campaigns such as “Kick Out” (Racism) and “Show Racism the Red Card” (SRTRC) in football. This has led to intolerance of ‘racist’ behaviour, supported by sanctions, however such campaigns fail to tackle deeper structural issues, such as the lack of Black coaches or senior positions in football managers. This reinforces whiteness in football (Long and Hylton 2002) and has been critiqued by Okwonga “It seems that rather than kicking racism out of football, the aim is instead to kick the discussion of racism (out)” (2013), illustrating the control that can take place when anti-racist projects with state funding move towards pathologising racist acts rather than critiquing institutional racism. Being state-sponsored, these approaches have a higher profile and are easily adopted by institutions as a way of exhibiting their anti-racist credentials. Whilst communitarian projects (Lentin 2011) are driven in a desire to change systems, ‘anti-anti-racists’ on the left are critical of ‘majoritarians’³⁸ whose chief aim is not to upset followers. The development of anti-anti-racists (Lentin 2011) from both the right and the left on the political spectrum, “raises important questions about the possibility for autonomy from paternalist control in the construction of radical anti-racisms” (2008 p313). At its most basic, state-sponsored anti-racism involves mouthing platitudes and staging events that fail to allow more complex debates. In this way “everyday racism” (Essed 1991) is passed off as an aberration or irrational act rather than the product of wider social forces, this makes it easier in school settings for racism to be dealt with as a behavioural issue rather than one requiring educational dialogical remedies.

There have always been critiques of anti-racist positions in education, with conservatives suggesting that it undermines supposed fair play and that it highlights

³⁸For Lentin Majoritarians, are members of high profile leftist organisations who are keen to post a united front. This prevents critical voices being raised and losing their “contestatory function” (Lentin 2008, p312). Bringing together ‘colour-blind’ supporters with those who see race being integral with class brings about an uneasy unity and prevents open critique of structural racism.

‘non-existent’ discrimination. The increased use of majoritarian stories, are used to counter structural problems in education settings, where meritocracy is presented as a means of social advancement. There is now very little funding for the development of race ‘work’ particularly with the decline of networks and resources such as the closing of Multiverse (Runnymede Trust 2012). The critical spaces where sophisticated dialogue was able to take place, are no longer informed by critical theory and foundational knowledge. There is little opportunity for teachers to critique how the curriculum interfaces with difference. This makes it easier for schools to develop a veneer of anti-racist work that has very little substance. Where shocks and puzzles emerge there is little opportunity or space for teachers to discuss this communally.

This section has examined how through the stages of the first pillar in Escher’s painting, methodologies of race have come full-circle. The initial assimilationist position by a ‘bending of lines’ of practice via the multicultural and anti-racist positions has led to the present ‘post-race’ stance. Shored up by majoritarian meritocratic narratives, which currently fore-ground technical performative teaching measured by exam results and offer little opportunity for collective evaluation or criticism of race work and have erased it from CPD and ITE. It does not acknowledge that its systems have the potential to be racist, sexist or discriminate in relation to class. The next section examines the impact of this on teacher identity as the second pillar.

3.3 (TRANS)FORMATIVE (IM)POSSIBILITIES OF PROFESSIONAL TEACHER IDENTITY

In the previous section the pillar of race in Escher's print was deconstructed to show how its (im)possibility only appears through a distortion of viewpoints which in a 'normal' sketch are traceable back to a vanishing point through the use of straight lines. Beginning by briefly tracing fluctuations in sociological definitions of identity, this section shows how the bends and flows impact on professional teacher identity. The intersection of race and meritocracy in education requires an analysis of the construction of the transformative teacher identity (Menter et al 2010) in order to examine its potential to transcend (im)possibilities in relation to structural background factors for young people. Central to this section is Menter et al's typology of teacher identity (2010), this is put to work to examine how the four components:- reflective, transformative, effective and enquiring are constructed. It maps the increasing fluidity and seepage between different aspects of identity to detail the growing influence of New Public Management (NPM) ((Hood 1989; Pollitt 1993; Lane 2000; Bovaird and Löffler 2009; Christensen and Lægreid 2013). NPM is an adjunct of neo-liberal 'marketisation' that has led to extensive reformation of public services. This fits well with IE which examines how well-meaning professionals can become complicit in practices that contradict their principles (Campbell and Gregor 2002, p34), subjecting them to ruling relations via texts. It draws on critical research which is not a single school but which "attempts to reveal the socio-historical specificity of knowledge and to shed light on how particular knowledge reproduces structural relations of inequality and oppression" (Jupp 2006, p51).

3.3.1 IDENTITY, BELONGING AND COLLECTIVE ACTION

"How can we organize those huge, randomly varied, and diverse things we call human subjects into positions where they can recognize one another for long enough to act together, and thus to take up a position that one of these days they might live out and act through as an identity. Identity is at the end, not the beginning of paradigm. Identity is what is at stake in any viable notion of political organization." (Hall 1997, p286)

While recent teacher identity was viewed as a site of radical calls for change in relation to equality, collective protest has subsided (Down and Smyth 2012). Identity in a broader sense as a political collective location has been the site of some of the greatest contestations of modernity beginning with gender and class but increasingly encompassing race, sexuality, disability and other modes of difference within social divisions. Often informed by Marxist critiques of ideology in relation to class suggesting the creation of a universalist human subject. Undeniably, some gains have been made through mutual action, however the deterministic modes of some Marxist analyses, failed to develop the complexity provided by post-structuralist and post-modern writers but these have short-comings in relation to race as explored in the previous section.

There is by no means a consensus about how identity is constituted. However its importance since the enlightenment has moved from being an immutable personal category to a much broader categorisation which encompasses almost all aspects of life and increasingly the professional. This fragmentation also seen as decentring and fracturing (Hall 1996, Bauman 1996; Bradley 1997) has destabilised the ‘segments’ which form identity. A series of academic works have traced the apparent decline in ‘identity’ particularly but not solely as a means of acquiring agency. Hall (1996) posited “Who needs identity?”, Alcoff (2006) asks that we ‘reconsider’ identity. Brubaker and Cooper (2000) as well as Lloyd (2005) suggests that we need to move ‘beyond’ identity and the mixing and hybridity of identity and culture (Werbner and Modood 1997) is taken almost as a given now.

Identity though is a means of belonging and it is through this that collective action can take place. However, Yuval Davis states that

“It is important to differentiate between belonging and the politics of belonging. Belonging is about emotional attachment, about feeling ‘at home’ and – as Michael Ignatieff points out is – about feeling ‘safe’... Belonging tends to be naturalized and becomes articulated and politicized only when it is threatened in some way.”
(Yuval-Davis 2006, p197)

As education literature in the 1990s on race emerged (Gaine 1987; CRE 1988, 1992; Tomlinson 1990; DES 1991; Siraj-Blatchford 1991; DfE 1992b; Troyna 1993; Craft 1996; Sewell 1997; Blair and Bourne 1998), anti-racist methods began to be adopted and placed in practice, to address issues in teaching children; in teacher BME imbalances; and to address institutional racism. Though the term was not used as such, it was accompanied by training, conferences and networks (NAME³⁹, ARTEN), providing critical reflective spaces. This produced support for BME teachers and progressive work on race, unpicking simplistic notions of belonging and thus Yuval-Davis' statement on belonging being threatened showed how complex and intertwined with other aspects of difference belonging is. At this time teacher identity around race was articulated, politicised and often strident. However as legislative solutions and monitoring were put in place; it became removed from ITE/ITT; 'champions' in LEAs became eliminated; and the networks fell into demise; this seems to have brought protests to an end.

Even so there is plenty of material evidence that suggests many groups still face discrimination (EHRC 2010; Miah 2013b) and so the struggle for equality is one that palpably should go on, this chapter pursues the puzzle as to why transformation with regard to race seems less urgent than previously. Having briefly examined the concept of identity, In order to do this it is necessary to undertake a critique of how professional identity has become constituted in recent times.

3.3.2 PROFESSIONAL EFFECTIVE IDENTITIES

Particularly in education, one of the most popular reasons for people entering the teaching profession is still one of social justice, to improve the lot of others, 78% of new entrants to the profession (Hobson et al 2009, p 22) wanted to "give something back to the community". Thus, an important facet of teacher identity is of being able to progress the life-paths of others and rests within an intersection between personal values and professional duties. This overlap frequently produces competing elements. Professional teacher identity presents a mixed picture with many fluctuations; for Coldron and Smith (1999) professional identity "is not a stable entity", neither is it "fixed or unitary". Varghese et al (2005) see teacher identity as

³⁹ Campaigning organisations of teachers and activists lobbying for change in practice on race.

a, “multiple and changing formation, which is essentially related to the social, cultural and political context”.

While identity is popularly seen as a personal construct, briefly examining the literature on professional formations contributes to a wider understanding of how wider economic and political events have impacted on teachers. This is increasingly important as work becomes a larger part of identity in modernity resulting in the “increasingly professionalized ideal of a vocation in which personality is put aside.” (Levine 2009, p120) .

3.3.3 PROFESSIONAL (RE)FORMATIONS

Originally membership of a profession was relatively simple through the establishment of “lists” (Whitty 2000) . As they proliferated, codes of conduct (Millerson 1964) became developed. Fook et al (2000) describe how trait theories, (Greenwood 1957), status (Hugman 1991) and occupational power (Friedson 1970) have also been drawn on, thus there are many different perspectives on what constitutes a profession. Whitty (2000) describes for teachers how their participation in radical activism threatened their ‘professional’ status, an important element to consider in relation to transformative possibilities. Hanlon suggests that

“virtually all professions are becoming fragmented, with some members enthusiastically adopting the changing agenda of the state and corporate employers, while others are resisting it.”
(1998, p48)

Professional status on the one hand depicts the individual as being a commander of autonomous knowledge yet sets boundaries located in discourses that accompany practices such as the Teacher Standards (TDA 2007, 2010; DoE 2012) and ethical frameworks (GTC 2004/7). Work on competences in teaching first began in 1992, by the John Major government (Arthur, Davison and Lewis 2005, p vii) until they became the Teachers’ Standards in 1998. Developed further by the DfES and the TTA (Teacher Training Agency), under the Labour government, leading subsequently to the establishment of the GTC in 2000 (Nixon 2005). Increasingly the Standards have become simplified with less decreasing mention of equality issues. (See chapter 7). Brehony and Deem (2005) see this as a means also of

increasing the bureaucratic control of schools and education staff. This they put down to the school of New Managerialism also known as New Public Management, (NPM) (Mahony and Hextall 2000, p5) with a number of variants (See also Clarke and Newman, 1997; Saint-Martin, 1998; Exworthy and Halford, 1999; Reed, 2002, Trowler 1998) , leading to the adoption of methods in education, which Sachs sees as,

“may be understood as a set of values, ideas and practices including marketisation, performance management, league tables, devolved budgets and targets, aimed at reforming the management of public service organisations”(2005 p396).

The driving forces for these are amongst others held to be economic pressures (Allman 2010) and lowering of standards compared internationally (Avis 2009, p3), supposedly as they lead to greater efficiency and effectiveness (Yeatman 1990; Gewirtz and Ball 2000) particularly of the public sector, which is painted as being bureaucratic and intransigent.

Managerialism has been identified as having two strands Neo-Taylorism – which focuses on ‘efficiency’ (Pollitt 1993) and the second on ‘excellence’ Peters and Waterman (1982). Newman and Clarke (1994) show how these had become incorporated into “the right to manage” which is seen as a challenge to the “old power bases” of “bureaucracy and professionalism”. This revealed the ideological nature of the changes in which the ‘economy’ had become privileged. Osgood describes how this top down approach, devalues practitioner knowledge, whether by dint of experience or training and how,

“The hegemonic government professionalism discourse effectively silences alternative debates about what it means to be professional, how professionalism might look and the dangers of unreflexively accepting and adhering to an externally imposed normalised construction of professionalism; in essence, alternative counter-discourses become pathologised” Osgood 2006, p6)

More cynically, some see it as a cost-cutting measure especially when deployed across the public sector (Solondz K 1995; O’Brien and Down 2002). Additionally new managerialism is “at worst a project to simplify professional working, a project to reduce professional complexity to simple components” (Haynes 2003, p134) This

allows tasks to be allotted with supposedly increased accuracy and the use of technology, a growing facet of new managerialism and thus the central role of management becomes one which is administrative rather than leadership. Thereby the monitoring of tasks and concerns about recording become paramount, rather than the methods by which they are achieved. Thus whilst professionalism is offered up as a means of individual agency, the increasing control via NPM and its variants limits teacher autonomy. The previous section showed how with regard to race, control over the curriculum and resources have been removed.

Sachs (2003) argues that reforms while endeavouring to depict themselves as being about professionalism and seemingly value-neutral are in fact a “political project” which need teachers to “think and act differently – especially about their role in society” (2003 p122). This is echoed by Haynes, (new managerialism) “reduce(s) professional powers of discretion, status and judgement in the public service context” (2003, p134). Particularly in relation to equality it can also be seen as being gendered (Whitehead 1998, p96), ‘raced’ (Gutiérrez et al 2004) and problematic for disability issues (Arshad and Riddell 2011). Thus, pressures and concerns about performance and the push for teaching standards can be seen as part of a larger reform driven not by professional bodies but by neo-liberal architects. As has been written earlier ‘standards’ not structures (Clarke et al 2000, p 227) are the essential element of New Managerialist approaches. Thus whilst teacher identity is conceptualised to be fluid the advent of NPM is one that has a powerful potential for control on effective teacher identity (Menter et al 2010) and is manifest in over-arching mechanisms such as OFSTED and work role-evaluations.

The effective teacher (Menter et al 2010), has become more pressing post the 1970s, in which poorly performing teachers can be blamed for inadequate national performance. This “rhetoric of failure” (Alsup 2006, p 23) from the US, continues and has been transferred to other countries (Avis 2009). In the UK this has become buttressed by the introduction of a greater focus on ‘quality’, ‘choice’ and the use of tests, measures and league tables to produce an “audit culture” (Strathern 2000). Inspection and regulation have become more a part of the education landscape along with a centrally instigated curriculum. This limits the agency teachers potentially possess within their work. Rather than increasing autonomy, the focus on

performance, “has resulted in a move away from professional agency towards surveillance and mistrust of the professional’s role” (Forde et al, 2006, p22). Whilst in earlier times teachers were able to resist and voice concerns around issues of equality the focus on achievement via standards is leading to compartmentalised roles, regulatory regimes and more technicist modes of education in schools.

3.3.4 TRANSFORMATIVE DEPICTIONS AND MERITOCRATIC (IM)POSSIBILITIES

There is particularly for new entrants to the profession an exhortation for teachers to be seen as transformative, seen in the advertisement below, which depicts the educator as a conduit for children to make the most of their potential. The language used, “rewarding, challenging teaching” demonstrates that this is no ‘easy ride’ and thus sets teachers as transformative agents.

Rewarding.Challenging.Teaching.

Teachers of maths, physics, chemistry and modern languages are in high demand. Train to make a difference, inspire young people and benefit from an attractive starting salary and training bursary.

(TDA 2012)

The notion of the teacher as a conduit for transformation has a long history the Greeks for example, valued pedagogues (who ironically were often slaves) over the subject teachers (‘didskalos’) as they produced social rather than technical education. In examining the Greek position Smith states

“To educate is, in short, to set out to create and sustain informed, hopeful and respectful environments where learning can flourish. It is concerned not just with knowing about things, but also with changing ourselves and the world we live in.” (Smith 2012)

However, what it means to ‘make a difference’ and bring about change is contested and requires further scrutiny. Education has a number of functions including the transmission of values and to socialise children as well as to help construct knowledge. Making a “difference” is not a uniform concept, depending on differing

perspectives. Important to this thesis is how the process of education shores up ideas of meritocracy (Young 1958; Payne 1987; Themelis 2008) which suggest that society is horizontal and has an underlying social mobility and how in particular disenfranchised groups, can via the process of education counteract innate factors associated with their origins.

It also had support from Tony Blair, 1997 (Guardian, 2001) and more recently Michael Gove (Dominiczak 2013). Foremost here, is the proposition that good teachers can act as a remedy to poor circumstances, achieved by ensuring that teachers are effective and from the advertising rubric to be able to “inspire” (TDA 2012). Transformation for the political right involves the use of testing for pupils; clearer delineation of roles; the introduction of standards in teacher education; and tighter inspection and monitoring. Although meritocracy has also been labelled as a myth (McNamee and Miller 2009), it retains strong political support, particularly on the political right

“This Government are committed to a Britain where social mobility is unlocked; where everyone, regardless of background, has the chance to rise as high as their talents and ambition allow them.” (Cameron, *The Coalition Manifesto* 2010).

IE is interested in how well-meaning individuals can become complicit in decisions that contravene their values (McCoy 2006)) this becomes possible through a critique of the meritocratic (im)possibilities of teacher identity.

Many key discourses over the past thirty years have focused on improving systems leading to a whole-scale realignment of teaching with a whole host of changes examples include the National Curriculum, League Tables, OFSTED and more recently the introduction of Academies and Free Schools. This involves more efficient use of existing resources (Audit Commission 2009, p59) in school roles via role evaluation also known as workforce re-modelling (OFSTED 2005; Hutchings et al 2009), there has been an immense restructuring of teacher duties, leading to role fragmentation with a more Fordist operation in day-to-day teaching and arguably a less holistic responsibility; aspects of NPM. Gunter (2007) has labelled this ‘a study

in tyranny' which Wilkinson (2005) sees as limiting "teachers' professional jurisdiction". Though the current view differs,

"education reform has been designed to empower teachers; to give them more freedom, more power and more prestige." (Gove 2013)

Therefore, in short, the solution is to introduce marketised education using neo-liberal reforms (Ball 1998, 2007, 2012), which will supposedly improve the quality of the teaching by producing 'better' outcomes, particularly in exam results, thereby providing greater choice for parents and also, to be carried out in a manner which is economically efficient (Gewirtz 2002). Using globalisation as a threat (Avis 2009, p2-3), to bolster demands for education to contribute to economic effectiveness. In this way, meritocratic discourses focus on internal systems management in order to raise 'quality' in education and to enable the nation to 'compete' internationally. The inability of the education system to produce equal outcomes it seems can be attributed to ineffectual teaching, not the over-arching systems which espouse a rhetoric of (head)teacher control and empowerment I argue this conflates effectiveness with equity and we have seen in the previous section how in respect of race a number of gaps exist.

Meritocracy, was put forward satirically by Young (1958), to show how the claimed social mobility, particularly in relation to class, was not as prevalent as popularly claimed at the time. Ironically the idea of meritocracy many years after his writing re-emerged as a political tool to suggest that talent alone could allow individuals to build agency and 'rise' to a higher status, giving meritocracy credence and dependent on Menter et al's (2010) 'effective teacher' component, neglecting economic or structural barriers.

3.4 CRITICAL (IM) POSSIBILITIES OF DIFFERENCE

Seen in the section 3.3.2 is how for transformative teacher control resides not with the teacher but with external structures against which performance can be judged and increasingly, made more public, to provide a public 'gaze' (Foucault 1995). It also calls into question how the teacher advertisement above foregrounds claims of the teacher as an agent but provides little focus on the surrounding systems and their

limits. This produces a Scylla and Charybdis in which teachers endeavour to address issues of equality around poverty, race, gender and class but perform against systems which are structurally classed, raced and gendered.

The transformative teacher is being shaped thus as one who yields to the system and in regard to race has little opportunity to put in place any additional resources or special measures to aid the progress of BME pupils. In fact this is becoming labelled as “dangerous education” (Romero and Arce 2009) which in the US in Arizona⁴⁰ has prohibited “classes designed primarily for students of particular ethnic groups, advocate ethnic solidarity or promote resentment of a race or a class of people “ and would result in a school “losing 10 percent of its state financing.” (p181). In this way, teachers are prevented from pursuing direct work with regard to race. Exacerbated by the reduction of resources such as section 11, the removal of networks such as Multiverse and side-lining in ITE with trainees receiving just “one lecture and one seminar” over the programme (Lander 2010, p15). This has the impact of stifling the enquiring teacher who wishes to use the curriculum to explore with students how race has become constructed.

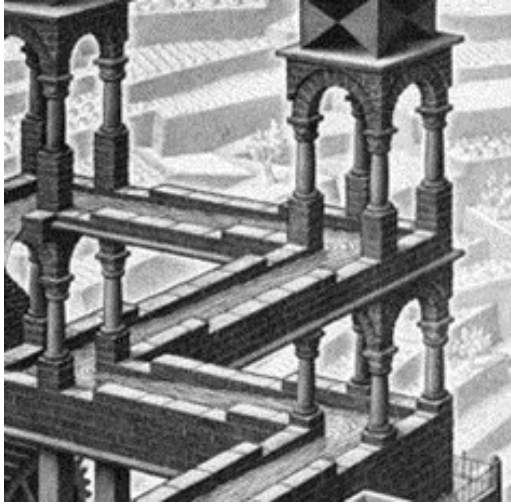
The puzzle which I described in the opening chapter and one that is present in the work of institutional ethnography is how well-meaning professionals can end-up becoming complicit with systems which produce ‘ruling relations’ rather than provide transformative possibilities. Paula Allman’s work on consciousness (1999) derived from Marx, is invaluable here. In which he critiqued idealism which dominated German philosophy at the time, he discusses how ‘concepts’ focused on essentialism can divorce things from their actual meanings. It is, Marx argues, necessary to examine things within a whole system. Thus, when reflective practitioners are exhorted to ‘reflect’ upon elements such as “classroom management’ or “guided reading” (Pollard and Collins 2005, p23) they are not examining aspects in their entirety. This means that they lack “historical specificity”, which reifies what Marx terms ‘thing-ness’ or ‘use-value’ (Marx 1867,

⁴⁰ In March 2010 in addition to anti-immigration legislation voted by the State senator this was extended to the education department resulting in a system which “essentially mandates a conservative, white-Christian bias in the teaching of social science” (Love: 2010). There are parallels here with the imposition of ‘British-ness’ in the UK national curriculum although there are no punitive measures for schools offering support for BME pupils.

p 26) in which concepts are taken out of their original context and used elsewhere. Without this wider examination, the enquiry quite often locates the 'problem' with a technique rather than the whole system. Retaining elements but reworked in this way 'transformative' education has become overtly focused on the systems such as SAT scores and league tables, rather than providing critical skills. With regard to race this section has shown that the removal of critical knowledge around race has through the supplantation of 'critical theory' around race with meritocratic narratives has removed teachers' abilities and motivations to directly address difference.

CRITICAL PEDAGOGY

This has long been a concern for teachers who are steeped in critical pedagogy (Freire 1972; Apple 1979; Aronowitz and Giroux 1985; Shor 1992; hooks 1994; McLaren 1995; Kanpol 1999; Kincheloe 2004; Allman 1999, 2010; Giroux 2011) which suggest a more collaborative way of working. Giroux a key protagonist continues in this vein, as he eschews notions of simple behaviourist modes of education, "Understood in these terms, critical pedagogy becomes a project that stresses the need for teachers and students to actively transform knowledge rather than simply consume it" (Giroux 2011, p7). This defines critical pedagogy as a collective and co-operative act, rather than an individual acting alone and begs questions about how if at all can a single person act in a transformative way, what their capacity for agency is and how might identity help or hinder this? Thus for many educators, education is transformative only when it is a *critical* and *collective* act. It is also one that involves reflection in which power relations, history and policy come under scrutiny also. It needs to be critical in terms of equality of opportunity and not purely concerned about whether the process being one which improves access to recognised examination achievements and seemingly, as a corollary, employment opportunities.



3.5 THE ENQUIRING TEACHER - IDENTITIES IN FLUX

Returning to the print we have in the last two sections examined the (im)possible pillars detailing the fluctuations of teacher identity and of the complexities of race. This section will synthesise this to examine how the competing elements of teacher identities from Menter et al's

(2010) typology the reflective, transformative and effective elements intersect with the enquiring teacher. Examined in the second chapter in detail was the reflective teacher component which highlighted how although reflection is presented as a panacea, there are a number of problems with its implementation. The reflective teacher identity is veering towards a mechanistic view of reflection that focuses on skills and producing crafted 'techne' knowledge. There is little desire or structure for holistic exploration of the environment, history and culture. In particular, the presentation of Schön's simplistic depiction of the teacher as an agent neglects the social setting and the role of emotion in their work.

The transformative aspects with regard to race we have seen have become limited with a lessening if not total removal of forums for its development. This chapter has shown how while teachers previously were given access to a series of debate, resources and training about how culture and race can mesh with the curriculum, the presentation of a post-race positioning is being used to erase it from teacher education. While there may be representation in documentation and policy on race equality, in practice this draws on uncritical presentations of multi-cultural practice and positions anti-racist work as part of behaviour management. In the second and third moments critical discussions of race allowed space for discussions on race to take place, its compartmentalisation with the use of majoritarian narratives has effectively deadened the impact of these, as with other forms of difference. Thus whilst shocks and puzzles may emerge about race, the resources and skills to pursue this intellectually are disappearing.

We have seen in this chapter how ‘effective’ teacher identity has become corralled, through detailed frameworks and legislation. This has (re)formed this component into one in which effectiveness involves uncritical application of government diktat on duties and limits critique and control of the curriculum. Where these do not fit with the Government’s views of education or narrow values, rather than allowing teacher autonomy, which might be expected for a ‘profession’ that this will be enforced centrally. This is exemplified by moves to adopt only ‘British’ writers rather than ‘writers of English language texts’ (Paton 2014). This narrows the historical and cultural milieu available to teachers and presents children with limited possibilities for critical analysis. It has only been through critiques of the lack of the curriculum to recognise Black and female achievements and not just as part of Black History month (Ajegbo 2007, p41) and through scholarship that difference has been made central to learning and teaching. This has implications for the final component that of the enquiring teacher.

Menter cites Stenhouse (1975) who put forward a model of the enquiring teacher as one in which teachers

- Undertake systematic enquiry often in association with HE staff
- Funding should be provided to develop enquiry
- This should be a career-long

There are clear doubts about whether systems to carry this out, particularly in relation to race are present.

Detailed in this chapter is how particularly with regard to race, NPM discourses, presented as measures to improve quality, have in (re)forming teacher professionalism, reduced avenues for teachers to access critical knowledge. (Sachs 2005). The transformative and effective teacher discourses have clear limitations through a focus on meritocratic (im)possibilities and while the reflective and enquiring components offer critical examination there is little opportunity for this to be acted on. Collective agency also seems to be on the wane reflecting wider social trends. From the advertisement in section 3.3.4 however it appears that a majoritarian meta-narrative is being set here which focuses on the desires of teacher to see themselves as transformative agents providing a contradiction.

This chapter has detailed how the pillars of race and teacher identity have been (re)formed. They have been subject to political, historical cultural and social forces that limit the possibilities of transformation as an increasingly fictional product, one that is restricted to educational ‘measures’, with a narrow view of what constitutes ‘meritocracy’.

The four aspects of teacher identity, as represented by Menter et al (2010) present some of the contradictory flows in Escher’s aqueducts as teachers as willing agents may wish to focus on social advancement via education but have become hemmed in by targets on pupil performance. Set by notions of meritocracy which are part of a meta-narrative of advancement but which without autonomy is likely to be a ‘myth’. In particular, the moments of race have come full-circle with post-race practice being akin to the *l’aissez faire* policies of the 1960s. The most pressure by teachers was applied during the anti-racist and multicultural phases, which this chapter shows were accompanied by critical spaces and networks, now removed. This chapter shows how this has shown how the manipulation of the lines of policy now create LaMontagne’s “conceptual ambiguity”(2005, p67) present in Escher’s work but applied to race as the distortions remove critical thinking to present ‘meritocracy’ as the strongest current in the stream.

Empirical work later will build on this to examine how would-be transformative teachers draw on their emotions and feelings to deal with race and to synthesise with the material examined here on teacher training and policies. The data chapters through a detailed examination of research settings will set out how, educator experiences in relation to race and difference are realised and what practitioners’ perceptions are. They explore whether the feelings that accompany any possible shocks results in action as suggested by Schön, how this might fit with the transformative teacher and also affect their emotions.

CHAPTER 4

ONTOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF RESEARCHING RACE AND DIFFERENCE

4.1.1 INTRODUCTION METHODS OF T(RACING) RACE

The second and third chapters demonstrated heavy social construction of the two main strands of this thesis reflective practice and race, presenting key methodological challenges for the research outlined below and continued in the next chapter. This fourth chapter begins by outlining the key ontological arguments, the impacts of this on relationships in the field and the implications for the methods used. Important here is to take into account the fluctuations in research paradigms over time. While objectivist methodology is useful for quantifying and to prove simple causal connections, it becomes problematic when researching more complex associations. Therefore, this study has an exploratory focus in respect of the research questions and is primarily descriptive.

In the opening chapter, I described how shifting conceptions of race and reflection were part of a deep personal puzzle for myself. Through the moments described in the third chapter, race in education has seen its significance rise and then decline. While RP commonly is presented as being ‘transformational’, chapter two showed how technicist influences downplay the use of emotions, possibly countering their use for change. Capturing conceptions of both present strong challenges as does the complex inter-relationships of practice, theory and power. Key to the study therefore is the deployment of Institutional Ethnography, an emerging methodology from the work of the feminist author Dorothy Smith (1987, 1990, 1993, 2005). It works with informants to map ‘ruling relations’ (see below), which shows how groups and individuals can be complicit in oppressive work practices that are counter to their values and begins not with theory but on the informants problematic. While not being an “ethnography” due to resource constraints, the thesis draws on critical ethnography (Carspecken 1996; Carspecken and Walford 2001; Pole and Morrison 2003; Madison 2011) to draw up case studies.

‘Race’ has in chapter three been shown to have large conceptual fluctuations over time, subject to political and social pressures, following the majoritarian and post-race moments. My own experience of race overlapped with other areas of difference and concluded that while race is central, it cannot be the only consideration. Homogenous approaches to researching difference casting social divisions as monolithic omit changes in culture, which at present can be very rapid as information flows more rapidly (Frost 2010, p16-17) destabilising grand social theories offering simplistic conceptions of difference.

Although early incarnations of feminist and anti-racist methodologies, emanating from critical theoretical approaches, fore-grounded notions of “oppressed” voices, to address issues of difference, this soon became critiqued as a mere reversal of dominant paradigms. A key influence on this thesis, central for CRT and IE also is intersectionality after Crenshaw who draws on the "matrix of domination" (1989, 1991) and Hill-Collins (1989, 1990, 1993) which rather than seeing social divisions as separate and hierarchical, views them as interlocking components of identity requiring unpicking, this is to be addressed in this chapter.

Race and also RP in particular are regarded as having ‘ideal’ components their ‘parameters’ are not clearly visible or available for measurement. The use of CRT which takes a critical realist position, is useful as the traces, unpicked in the first section with regard to race are regarded as having observable consequences. This accords also with ‘ruling relations’, developed from IE, which shows how workers become controlled through texts (Smith 1989, 1990, 1999, 2005; Campbell and Gregor 2002). While sociological examination of difference is traditionally dependent on ‘distanced’ critiques of policy. The strengths of CRT and IE are that they both begin with the central narratives of informants and draw on these to examine local flows of power, neither take these as simple ‘truths’, rather using the day-to-day small interactions to explicate social relations. CRT and IE began respectively as critiques of feminism and race, informed by a Marxist base but due to the overly rigid methods used which centred class, became further developed to examine the nuances of difference more carefully.

This chapter draws on these methodologies and takes into account the paradigm wars (Sparkes 1992) along with the moments of research Denzin and Lincoln (2005, p14) (see 4.3.2 below), which builds the case for creative innovation in social research. With IE being an emerging methodology, more in favour in North America, the conceptual development in this study uses more productive ways of accessing texts which inhabit the work place, using visual material and not just interviews. The methods used require close “radical listening” (Clough and Nutbrown 2007, p79) and suited to this is the development of techniques which provide opportunities for deep interrogation using ethnomethodology (Garfinkel 1967; Coulon 1996; Ten Have 2004), which examines speech and behaviour closely, allowing local theories to emerge rather than imposing 'grand' narratives. This is a necessity given the complexities of ‘race’ and “shock/puzzlement” and their manifestation in ‘emotion’ allowing for richer narratives, which illustrate flows of power.

IE also suggests that the dismissal of emotion by some researchers in pursuit of a distanced and ‘objective’ approach in the pursuit of neutrality prevents access to important evidence. The work of Hochschild on emotion (1983/2003) is helpful here particularly in examining how the imposition of ‘feeling rules’ forms and controls both inner and external reactions to work situations. This is further controlled by texts both as ritual practices and also in the growing body of policy documents which populate the education landscape in relation to race. Sections 4.4 and 4.5 detail how IE provides a critical synthesis of this material. The penultimate section provides an overview of the research schedule and of the ethics process.

4.1.2 RETURNING TO THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research sought to address the following research questions repeated here from the introduction:-

1. Under what circumstances do issues of race and identity arise for educators, and how do they intersect with other aspects of difference?
2. What are educators’ perceptions of these incidents and how do they act in response to them?
3. What experiences do they draw on in order to respond to these incidents?
4. What situational factors do they perceive as influencing their responses?
5. To what extent do emotions of shock and puzzlement shape their response?

6. To what extent do they draw on notions of reflective practice to support their response?
7. How do they construct the notion of reflective practice, and what are the key influences on these constructs?
8. How do these experiences influence the nature of their future practice in relation to issues of race and difference?

While these were the research questions at the outset, the degrees to which each has become developed varies over the thesis allowing different components of knowledge to be investigated. The literature chapters so far have founded the fluctuations of race and RP. Key in the chapters four and five are how the research process is able to examine ‘ideal’ concepts using material analysis and the degree to which this can be ‘successful’.

4.2 METHODOLOGICAL PUZZLES OF ‘REALITY.’

The tenor of the research questions imply that a heavy focus on the social construction of both race and reflective practice is the most apt way of deepening our understanding of them. The key related terms in this study of ‘shock and puzzlement’, have a variety of usages, definitions and situated interactions. This requires close contact to gain insight to gain entry to and develop understandings of informants’ views of their worlds. A reliance on social actors may provide informant interpretations but runs the risk of missing other key situational data.

Therefore deciding the most appropriate methodological framework to adopt produced my own ‘puzzling problem’. The selection of a paradigm or a world view (Dills and Romiszowski 1997) helps to delineate the boundaries of a study by developing ontological, epistemological and methodological questions, to help found the work, these can be summarised straightforwardly as

- a. What is the nature of the reality?
- b. What consideration (if any) is there of the relationship between the researcher and the field?
- c. How does this found the methods that the researcher utilises?

I will address these first two points in this section below and the third later in the chapter. To address the initial point it is necessary to examine the ways in which

race and reflection can be conceptualised. Positivist views of race abounded when ‘biological’ models were accepted practice, while these are no longer in vogue, Hall suggests that biological *markers* are important in that they still play a place with regard to ethnicity, seen as an adjunct of race

“The biological referent is (therefore) never wholly absent from discourses of ethnicity, though it is more indirect.” (Hall 2000, p223)

Within education, associated themes such as ‘assessment’, ‘curriculum’ and ‘professional identity’ are seen as neutral but under closer inspection have racialised aspects. Equality too as seen in the last chapter has become less an exercise in removing prejudice but rather one concerned with monitoring and documentation. In this way, the shifting of ‘race’ to culture has resulted in more complex linguistic discourses. Even so, race is often, still viewed by some as biological and this cannot be wholly dismissed from a material presence, but bearing in mind Hall’s point will be deeply buried and requires close attention to method to reveal how they are intertwined.

Thus while an examination of language forms an important part of the study, the use of observation and work practice provides access to instances on how ‘othering’ can be manifest in human interactions. A link here can be made to critical theory (CT) from the Frankfurt School (Marcuse 1964, 1966; Horkheimer and Adorno 1972; Horkheimer 1982) which led on to much conceptual work on difference (See for example Woolfson 1976; Hall et al 1980; Walby 1990) influenced by Althusser’s work on culture, language and ideology (1977). There is unfortunately insufficient space for a detailed examination of the research literature on this. Briefly, CT initiated discussion on ethnocentrism (Outlaw 1997, p397) as shifts from race as a biological entity to culture examined how power relations became manifested in the centring of Western thought. Highlighting not a simplistic ‘prejudice’, but necessitating an examination of how the ideology of race is held up by societal structures, practices and history. Central to CT is the use of ideology and an imperative to critique the economic, cultural and political conditions which surround social life

“A critical theory is structurally different from a scientific theory in that it is "reflective" and not a "objectifying", that is, it is not just a theory about some objects different from itself, it is also a theory about social theories, how they arise, how they can be applied, and the conditions under which they are acceptable.” (Geuss 2001, p79)

Social ‘reality’ for critical theorists becomes distorted by power, is present in contradictions and requires researchers to unveil the underlying power relations. For example, the all-embracing meritocracy from the last chapter on closer inspection shows that structural factors favour some groups. Drawing on chapter three, an examination of race and difference starts with the standpoint that certain groups are excluded and it becomes essential that methods are chosen which unpick this. This thesis therefore adopts a critical perspective, which seeks to show how imbalances that exist in society may be altered, dubbed by Mertens (2005) as offering a “transformative” paradigm through careful selection of approaches.

In developing a study, it is clear that different types of worldviews emanate from the research stance taken which then creates accepted norms for the study. Positivist norms may suggest for example that the process of shock impels practitioners to ‘reflect’ and would necessitate seeking out instances, to quiz participants about their stories to measure and test their understandings. While this may also take place in critical ethnographic studies the approach is less direct, it is deemed necessary to draw up a more holistic picture of the social world of the informant to illustrate how the policies and procedures discussed in chapter three, may be realised and their impact upon the informants.

A critical realist paradigm (Bhaskar 1978) taken in this research, holds that evidence of shock and puzzlement will be observable but as social phenomena. Key to Schön’s thesis, is that puzzlement or shock initiates ‘action’ (Chapter Two). This claim is not well founded empirically, particularly with regard to the human sciences, with Schön relying on case studies from engineering and architecture. There is also little examination of the social construction of “shock or puzzlement” in his work. Boud et al’s (1985) work on discomfort and Mezirow’s consideration of “disorienting dilemmas” (1990) suggest a more fruitful line of enquiry that requires development related to emotions and feelings, the forms in which this is manifested

in the field however are not predictable, requiring a broad approach to data collection, with consequences for the interpretive paradigms used. In traditional surveys led by researcher scripts such as interviews, important areas, could easily be missed, being reliant on participant representations but in this study access to sites provided data about how policies are realised and practiced, are more likely to yield knowledge via a broader exploration of the social circumstances and their human impact.

The dearth of empirical work on race and reflection leads to this thesis needing to provide not just epistemic knowledge⁴¹, (Flyvbjerg 2001) i.e. requiring attention to reactive mechanisms but also *techne* and *phronesis* as more holistic forms. As Smith (2009, p38) suggests positivist applications of research are not suited to the exploration of social phenomena, aiming for an “unattainable certainty” (2009, p41). Given that previously, introspection about the processes and purposes of research were then ‘untainted’ by ‘lesser’ voices such as those of women, ‘natives’ and non-Western peoples (Said 1991). While this casts ‘doubt’ Foucault dubbed earlier work as ‘mindsets of the age’ sees them as being indicative of the historical and social circumstances of the time. This is also key to critical theory that requires a critique of these, to be able to move outside of fixed ways of thinking. Particularly in education research, the rapidly moving policy landscape brings constantly changing institutional practices also, which are indicative of power relations. This is a key strength of the canon of IE, which places an emphasis on depth and the opportunity to record micro-interactions. In this way, material instances can bring attention to focus on whether practitioners experience ‘puzzlement’ and how they deal with it as part of their practice. This process supports theory building, not grand theory (Lyotard 1984) but on the localised explicatory versions emanating from the research informants’ perspectives and how they conceptualise their worlds.

⁴¹From the Nicomachean ethics Aristotle identified three types of knowledge, *episteme*, *techné* and *phronesis*. Epistemic knowledge has a clear empirical basis with scientific evidence. *Techne* was seen as a more innate form of knowledge, in English this is closer to craft, which aims to provide workable solutions whose operation is not necessarily clear. Flyvbjerg has undertaken a detailed study of the relationships between the three “whereas *episteme* concerns theoretical know why and *techne* denotes technical know-how, *phronesis* emphasizes practical knowledge and practical ethics” (2001; p 56). This will be developed later on in the thesis.

Access to natural settings that provide access to events as they take place, avoids the use of artificial means of extracting impressions and enables researchers to have close contact and build relationships with informants, through participant observation, that is the best fit. Denzin and Lincoln see this as providing access to 'situated activity', which "consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that makes the world visible" (2005, p3). However, this will need tools that are able to capture material relating to emotions.

This brings us to the second point, the research relationship with the field. While ethnographies often require close relationships with informants, proponents of detached objective research try to avoid bias, Blaxter et al (2001, p15) see this as 'tainting' the data but close contact in this case is a necessity. Proponents of critical theory, particularly in relation to race (Rex 1970; Hall 1978; Miles 1989; Delgado and Stefancic 1994) are often accused of holding partisan views. This intimates that positivists by taking a detached approach are 'neutral' and objective, however this may be far from the case. The adoption of a scepticism to neutrality is a key facet of critical theory.

A valid criticism of critical ethnography is the possibility for researchers to 'go native' thereby producing unbalanced, biased studies, thus it is necessary to explicate clearly how reading the 'material' evidence produces findings. Given that, the "researcher is the primary 'instrument' of data collection and analysis, reflexivity is deemed essential" (Watt 2007, p82) and entails prolonged discussions about the process. This can be viewed as a 'get-out' but in making this 'critical' and following Hammersley's seminal work (1992) which identified key problems from his discussions on the 'crisis of representation' (Hammersley 2008) in which the supposed special privileges accorded to ethnographers, began to question how simple 'realist' accounts provided 'authenticity'. This raised questions about, "To what degree can ethnographic accounts legitimately claim to represent an independent social reality?" (Hammersley 1992, p2). Hammersley suggests that reflexivity is necessary for the reader to make up their own mind of the account and whether the account is 'real' (1992). This, Hammersley dubs, "subtle realism" and has been critiqued by Seale (1999 p470) who sees this as, "maintaining a view of language as both constructing new worlds and as referring to a reality outside the

text”. Language is certainly important; the solution for IE is that the researcher does not ‘doubt’ or ‘test’ the truth of an account neither does it present it as a simple realist, ‘truthful’ telling. IE recognises that interpretations are based on language inevitably, but the use of material evidence and an analysis of the language within the environment produces accounts to provide a representation of the social, to map connections. Taking a critical theoretical stance it does not aim to give a ‘distanced’ or ‘balanced’ account but rather one that examines and describes ‘ruling relations’ to outline the parameters of the social phenomena, through the experiences of the informant.

Data is not taken at face value but is drawn on to examine the relationships between actors and their environment. Whilst the narratives are based in material evidence, this thesis does not take a relativist approach, holding that all points of view are equally valid. Neither is there a desire to get caught in Horton-Salway’s trap where “authors of social science research texts become implicated in reflexive consequences because they cannot transcend their own constructive practices.” (2001 p148) An examination in school settings provided an opportunity to see how practitioners currently theorise both race and reflection to establish some of the influences that contribute to their conceptions and record what the responses in current work practices are. While it is not possible to capture everything, O’Reilly, suggests that “For an ethnographer, anything has the potential to be data” (2009, p169). This creates the problem of how to capture, manage and analyse large data-sets and this will be taken up in the next chapter. Entertaining questions and doubts about the data, the actors and the relationships (Hammersley 1992) is a creative process (Butler-Kisber 2010) in which synthesis takes place of concepts, events, language and reaction from the research milieu. While positivist researchers impose frameworks this is not appropriate for the examination of “shock and puzzlement”.

This section has discussed the ontological dilemmas of the research. It has detailed key problems associated with critical research and the following section will now go on to examine researcher positioning as a consequence of these dilemmas.

4.3 A SUITABLE APPROACH

4.3.1. RESEARCHER POSITIONING

This section details some of the background considerations in founding an epistemological stance. Being a neophyte researcher and as a late-comer to academia I find myself facing a lack of confidence about my own knowledge and the desire on the one hand to claim a fixed position which in many ways smacks of dogmatism but this surety is an asset, especially when defending a thesis. However in order to arrive at a synthesis it becomes necessary to be willing to accept other subject positions and to critique one's stance. While I have outlined my own position above I share a diagram from Butler-Kisber (2010, p6) which I have found very useful.

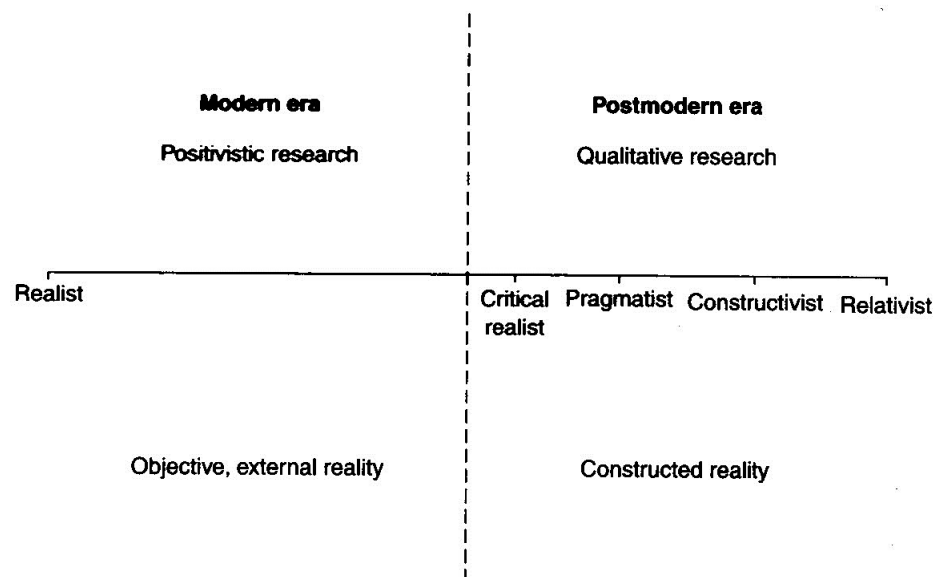


FIGURE 1.1 QUALITATIVE INQUIRY CONTINUUM

It demonstrates how qualitative researchers' views can oscillate and fluctuate over a variety of positions. Researchers on the right-hand axis, in contrast to the modern era who pre-selected methods are open to using a variety of approaches to collect and subject data to analysis in a number of ways dependent upon the stance. Researcher position is part of a continuum with overlaps rather than clearly delineated divisions. Silverman asserts, "we all move between multiple identities" (2007, p2). The disadvantage of a 'fixing' is that the wrong research tool or question may yield little useful knowledge focusing on an irrelevant area. While positivist

researchers are clear about the use of specific research tools at the outset, qualitative researchers

“undertake ethnographic studies to see the world in a new way from the point of view of the people under investigation, not just to confirm their preconceptions about a particular issue or group”
(Henn et al 2006, p 21) .

Given this study seeks to examine how shock, puzzlement, race and difference are experienced and attended to in the workplace in relation to reflective practice, it is difficult to see how this could be pre-conceptualised. The research is therefore a work of discovery that pays attention to complexity. The challenges of moving into fresh territories for exploration requires the development of new tools for research and analysis, qualitative research has always welcomed innovative approaches (Denzin and Lincoln 2005; Pink 2007; Butler-Kisber 2010; Nagy et al 2010) particularly those with critical viewpoints which sought to address issues of power. This in itself encourages eclecticism and methodological pluralism (Chambers 2001), particular paradigms can conceal knowledge or reveal and overt methodological attachment plays a part in this. Hammersley and Atkinson state, “It is almost always a mistake to try to make a whole ethnography conform to just one theoretical framework” (2007 p159).

4.3.2 FINDING THE ‘RIGHT’ MOMENT

A useful summary of the ascendancy of qualitative research lies in the ‘eight moments’ presented by Denzin and Lincoln (2005). This has segued from the ‘traditional’ in the first half of the twentieth century, when supposedly ‘objective’ work, misrepresented groups and led to “colonizing depictions of reality” (Butler-Kisber 2010, p3). Subsequently this has taken in various phases including most pertinently the ‘crisis of representation’ (Marcus and Fischer 1986) in which the increasingly socially constructed nature of research became more evident and how ‘identity and difference’ had been neglected, leading to the destabilisation of simplistic application of ‘rules’ to qualitative research. The subsequent proliferation of methods shows little sense of ceasing having been developed in response to the ‘moments’ some of these which will be discussed and grounded below. This is an ongoing picture that has already been supplemented by the ninth, fractured future

(Denzin and Lincoln 2005). With Onwuegbuzie et al (2010) making a play for the tenth, calling for greater use of electronic media and tools to ‘authenticate’ data (2010). These fluctuations have progressed from the traditional in which the researcher held power over knowledge creation, towards one in which the informants roles gain greater attention and the power relations are subject to much greater critique via reflexivity. It is driven by political developments such as the emergence of critical theory, as well as social and technological changes.

I was not clear at the outset which was my ‘moment’ but was guided in this by Sayer (1992, p4) who states that in the social sciences methods have to be appropriate to the nature of the object (s) to be studied. ‘Human’ objects or rather actors have subject positions that fluctuate and their ability to articulate their world require methods that gain access to this. In regard to race this is an on-going struggle and while my early personal forays into Marxism and anti-racism saw me taking on a now ‘unfashionable’ Black identity, this did at the time provoke a sense of agency for me. Later, in my youth work practice, I experienced more fluid and hybrid identities emerging (Back 1996; Werbner and Modood 1997) as young people began to take greater pride in their ethnic identities and increasingly experimented with fashion, language and music to fuse elements taken from their peers. While simplistic Marxist accounts tried to reify class, intersectionality (Crenshaw 1989; Hill-Collins 1993; Alcoff 1995; Young 1997; Alexander and Knowles 2005; Kivisto and Hartung 2006; McLaughlin et al 2006; Yuval-Davis 2007; Hines et al 2011; Mirza 2009; Preston and Bhopal 2012) began to be more pertinent. As composite and fluid, rather than fixed identities need to become accounted for. This was evident in Tasneem’s story (Chapter 7) and although she was only mid-career felt that her ‘moment’ had passed.

Therefore, it is only on entering a setting that the researcher can gain any degree of certainty about what methods are required. I found Black feminist influences (Wilson 1978; Crenshaw 1989; hooks 1993; Hill-Collins 1993) helpful and the use of standpoint (which has a number of forms), from which IE emerged and

necessitating a close attention to voice⁴² and positionality. Clough and Nutbrown (2007, p79) dub the former “*radical listening*”, as it draws on interpretive and critical means, to notice and make meaning, via an iterative descriptive, analytical, interpretive cycle (Wolcott 1994). While early work on voice sought to rebalance political situations (Alcoff 1995) it became swiftly clear that this was merely a reversal of the power dynamic reifying more strident voices and thus I sought to avoid a simplistic ‘face-value’ approach to data analysis, by problematising ‘voice’, which some early critical theorists used selectively to provide simplistic applications of grand narratives. This thesis attempts to draw on more nuanced methods examining power at a local level.

4.3.3 A CRITIQUE OF SOCIOLOGY

Smith has criticised sociological influences in research seeing a fault line within ‘traditional sociology’ (1987, p49) because it ‘objectifies’ and while the creative processes of research open up lines of enquiry, they never evoke the location in which they are formed and place the sociologist at the centre. “This is the place where things smell, the irrelevant birds fly away in front of the window, where he has indigestion.” (Smith 1990,p17). This creates a separation in which the sociologist moves into a ‘transcendental realm’ as Smith laments “yet the local and particular site of knowing that is the other side of the bifurcated consciousness has not been a site for the developments of systematic knowledge.” Thus, the project of IE is to draw theory from the material in partnership with informants and to ground it in the local. This is not to say that wider notions of theory are not drawn on, in particular Smith utilises Marx’s work on ideology because

⁴² The notion of informant voice is very much a contested one. While some supporters suggest that the use of verbatim extracts represents voice this has been dismissed as ventriloquism, (Fine: 1992) the use of selective use of passages cede control to the researcher/editor and can be used to (mis)represent events. Mazzei and Jackson (2009) suggests that silence too is important, that is what is not said. Hence, there is no acceptance of ‘true’ voicing and a need to accept that textual examination is essentially an interpretive act. The use of material in IE such as documentation attempts to provide a synthesis, paying close attention to emotion inflexion and looking for organisational influences pays dividends. In this thesis the use of extracts in the I-poem (see later) provide an alternative and compelling narrative, which aims to produced more nuanced ways at (re)presenting voice.

“he wasn’t doing at all what established sociology was doing with the notion of ideology. He was struggling to develop a method of reasoning and investigation that would connect up concepts and theories with the actualities of people’s lives and how people put them together in and through their actual activities. He was developing methods of reasoning and inquiry about historical and social process that express actual organisation and relations. In so doing, he worked with the concept of ideology, treating it not as meaning, sense or signification, but as practices or methods of reasoning.” (Smith 1990, p200)

In this way rather than foregrounding grand sociological or psychological theory which “favor the constructed realities of privileged experts over the lived realities of its subjects” (Grahame 1998, p348) an examination of ‘texts’ can reveal how language and work practices are used to enforce behaviour from practitioner perspectives.

4.3.4 METHODS, TEXTS, VOICE AND POSITIONALITY

The methods chosen for this research began with traditional interviews and observation but as the work progressed in order to gain a deeper understanding, photo elicitation was also used. From my experiences as a youth work trainer I had found that the use of personal objects often facilitated students’ abilities to produce narratives and also recognising that reflection may take place in other settings outside of the school environment. I decided to give cameras to participants to undertake an analysis of spaces that they found conducive to reflection.

Additionally, the gathering of documents and visual images taken by myself was used to help analyse policy and produce data on the research environment. I had found visual methods ((Prosser 1998; Banks 2001; Rose 2006; Pink 2007) very useful in my Master’s thesis⁴³ (Patel 2007). While it is not common in IE, I was keen to develop methods that would produce richer data in partnership with the informants.

These methods provided an entry point, but bearing in mind positionality which acknowledges how “People experience the world from different embodied, social,

⁴³ The usage of visual methods enabled analysis of visual material produced by a group of young people as part of a community cohesion residential weekend to examine aspects of identity in relation to race and nationality. Consideration of this in relation to the activity provided a considerable entry to the social relations (Patel 2010).

intellectual, and spatial locations” (Given 2008, p98) and how “personal and shared intellectual histories as well as our lived experiences, shapes understandings of the world, knowledge, and actions” (ibid). These concerns have been key in the development of IE that provides a critique of traditional sociology, as it can dismiss the actualities of the world to impose theory. I was keen to understand how the participants interpreted their own theoretical positions on race and reflection. The next two sections examines the implications of this and how macro approaches foreground ‘ideal’ versions of theory whereas the micro produces localised ‘explicatory’ rather than explanatory to produce much more sophisticated analyses which are less simplistic and deterministic in nature.

Central to IE is how texts, developed from Smith’s earlier work (1987, 1990, 1993) are used to co-ordinate individuals in organisations.

“We find at every point the textual mediation of people’s activities through standardized and standardizing genres such as forms, instructions, rules, rule-books, memos, procedural manuals, funding applications, statistical analyses, libraries, journals, and many more. Texts are integral to people’s daily and nightly activities on the job.” (Smith 2001, p173)

Common for example in nursing are forms (Campbell 2001) which reproduce material practices. While texts imply written codes or forms they can be procedures such as accepted ways of caring for elderly residents. (Diamond 1992). They are not produced by immediate staff but are imposed from above, fade into the background and become a ritualistic part of practice. For Smith texts are only put into practice or activated when human actors carry out set instructions. The growth of NPM (see chapter 3) has led to the development of greater use of documentation in education settings, often for monitoring purposes. The sometimes elusive nature of the text means that it is only in the workplace that practices can be interrogated (Smith 1999, p80) and their nature examined. A close attention by the researcher of texts allows them “to investigate beyond the ethnographic and locally observable into the extra-local relations that permeate and control the local” (Walby 2006, p159). This means that the researcher needs to be onsite to note the activation and to enquire about the effects on the informants and settings.

For example, I noticed that before each lesson Tasneem religiously wrote the words WALT and WILT on the whiteboard. When I asked her what they stood for she explained that they meant, “What I Learned Today” and “We All Learned Together”. She did not go through the expected outcomes but the ritual appellation of the practice fore-grounded a policy initiative of outlining for children a supposed cognitive understanding that was expected for inspection purposes and while well-meant, did not live up to the actual experience of the learning. Thus, there is the need for methods that allow for close observation with opportunities for dialogue over how practices are interpreted by informants and their understanding of their purposes.

This involves very close attention to language and practices to unravel the texts in order to analyse the social relations in the setting, IE pays close attention to the interpretive process. Ethnomethodology (Garfinkel 1967; Sacks and Jefferson 1992; Silverman 1998) is a key influence using speech to analyse social and power relations. This shows the need for a modified objectivist epistemology (Annells 1996) in which critical traditions are drawn on to make meaning which regards inquiry as a ‘political act’ (Guba 1990, p24). Critical theory has led to important evidence and questioning about the nature of structural inequalities within education systems, particularly in regard to race, class and gender (Willis 1977; Giroux 1981; Mirza 1992; Delgado and Stefancic 2001; Apple 2004).

Standpoint⁴⁴, voice and positionality thus produce a ‘ground-up’ approach drawing on an emic perspective in which the translation into an etic account pays close attention to power using interpretive methods. In IE these are used to produce maps of the social relations, rather than grand theory or ‘explanation’. IE sees these as being reproduced in ideological texts that may require the deployment of critical lenses such as those from Marxist /feminist/CRT perspectives in order to examine how they operate in material forms and become manifested in work practices and language. Capture and analysis of these are best suited to methods that provide rich data from the informants’ perspectives to minimise researchers placing their views

⁴⁴ There are of course many different views of standpoint for a more detailed discussion of the various approaches see (Hartsock 1983; Harding 1991; Hill Collins 1990,1993; Hekman 1997; Leatherby 2003)

on the material. Thus the need for both a thick description (Geertz 1983) and a reflexivity (Hammersley 1992) about the process is inherent in order to address epistemological concerns about how knowledge is generated in a research setting. The key is not to impose but to combine theory through developing pictures of the social forces in the setting using the richness of the data. Otherwise for Smith this results in the “strange disappearance of people from mainstream sociological discourse” (2005, p52).

Critical research conventionally asks that researchers are upfront about their motivations and rather than aiming to provide a “hygienic” approach (Stanley and Wise 1993, p114), in which all that exists is the researcher and the ‘subject’ as part of a positivist canon, rather critical approaches requires an examination, problematisation and explication of the power relations which pervade the research setting. Thus the critical approaches embedded within the thesis are a given at the outset and influenced by ethnographic approaches in which “We cannot remain innocent about the methods of data collection or social and cultural exploration, or the methods we use to reconstruct and represent social worlds” (Coffey et al 1996, p12). Starting this section with my doubts seems a ‘dangerous’ strategy given the road to the academy is one in which a lack of certainty can breed contempt. Clifford sees ethnographic approaches as providing “*partial truths*” (1986) and the use of reflexivity provides an important means of detailing the parameters. Earlier on I mused about the way in which Marxist readings provided certainty in regard to race but as this has not come to pass, Gillborn’s assertion that research on race and education has to have a “*radical, critical edge*” (2006a, p17) bore heavily on me, to entertain other possibilities. As an exploratory approach critical realism “enlists the full range of educational research tools to generate as broad an empirical basis of educational practices, patterns and institutional outcomes as possible” (Luke 2009, p173) and thus just like the Boy Scouts’ maxim researchers need to ‘be prepared’.

This section has shown the need for researchers to gain intimate access to research settings and to use methods that are interactive and adaptable rather than providing reactive recordings of informant experiences. This provides wider entry to the extant power relations and allows local theory to be highlighted informed by participant perspectives.

4.4 INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY

4.4.1. BACKDROP

This section provides a more detailed discussion of IE and its relevance to this research. IE was developed from the work of Dorothy Smith (1987, 1990, 1993, 2005) who was particularly concerned with how people in organisations have become subject to bureaucratic ordering of their day-to-day activities. (Solomon 2003) For many individuals in the caring, helping and educational professions, which are predominantly female, the desire to do ‘good’ is paramount but this desire is confounded for many who feel that organisational practices get in the way. As both a formal and informal educator this is a perennial in the workplace and this has always fascinated me and although I am an optimist and had often been buoyed by my colleagues with strong feminist beliefs, the concern I felt for colleagues becoming disillusioned and burnt out had a real resonance.

Drawing on Feminist and Marxist influences in which feminist standpoint (Hartsock 1983; Ramazanoglu 1989; Smith 1990; Hill-Collins 1990; Harding 1991; Hekman 1997; Tanesini 1999; Ramazanoglu and Holland 2004; Houle 2009) plays an important part. IE examines how flows of power (Campbell and Gregor 2002) take place as it examines the everyday life to draw attention to language and practices that are alien to the participants. This is important for Smith as she draws on the concept of alienation. (See also Allman (2001)). As well as a number of other Marxist and Critical ethnographers (Anderson 1989; Thomas 1993; Carspecken 1996; Walford and Carspecken 2001; Madison 2011) in which workers become estranged from the products of their labour, and how this is represented in speech and action, shaped by the environment and institutional practices.

In IE, it is essential to start with individuals to trace texts which can be forms, procedures, policies and even cultural practices. These have material forms that can be analysed. “The point is to show how people are aligning their activities with relevances produced elsewhere in order to illuminate the forces that shape experience at the point of entry” DeVault (2006 p294). Foucault (1972, 1977) details how technologies of surveillance have become deployed to act as control mechanisms. In IE informants “introduce stories from their own knowledge of

everyday life in bureaucratic settings.” (Campbell and Gregor 2002, p24). Pointing out how “while text-based decisions might appear objective they are not necessarily disinterested or fair” (Smith 1990, p38). This provide an entry point into the “actualities” of the world (Campbell and Gregor 2002) to reveal the material effects of policy decisions. Smith is concerned with how ‘ideology’ derived from Marx is presented invisibly in formal documentation. Smith became disillusioned with traditional sociology, which for her foregrounds theory. Partly due to personal experiences (Smith 1993, p9-41), in which she realised her therapist had become complicit in her oppression through what she sees as male-dominated theory. “The sociologist should never go out without a concept; that to encounter the raw world was to encounter a world of irremediable disorder and confusion” (1990, p2). She turned therefore to other influences including Mead (1962), Foucault (1972), Bakhtin’s use of language (1981), and ethnomethodology (Garfinkel 1967) in which everyday language can be used to examine ordering . While traditional policy analysis also involves the scrutiny of documents and historiographical work on the field it is a top down approach which neglects the social, as Taylor notes “policy analysis has been dominated by commentary and critique rather than empirical research” (1997, p23). Smith’s journey led her to develop IE and an immersion in small acts from the everyday

4.4.2 THE USE OF EMOTION

Smith’s work on feminism invokes alternative ways of knowing (Belenky et al 1996) finding that the dismissal of emotion and feelings by researchers to be displaced by a scientific and detached approach and a preference for grand theory prevail. Hochschild’s work on emotional labour (1983/2003) applicable to the caring professions is particularly pertinent here, having become applied by a number of authors (Barbalet 2001; Jansz and Timmers 2002; Bolton 2005; Colley 2006, 2011; Fineman 2007; Theodosius 2008; Smith, 2011; Gray 2012). Particularly, how alienation in the Marxist sense in which workers are separated from the products of their labour (Allman 2001) and result in feeling burnout, emotionally exhausted and personally diminished (Brotheridge and Grandy 2002). This can be traced to an impact of managerial practices that are subject to global market pressures. Until relatively recently public services in the UK were seen to be immune to recent

global movements however neo-liberal models (Ball 2007, 2012) have radically altered this. Brook details how the imposition of “feeling rules” via work instructions or using texts in Smith’s sense “dictate the form, content, and appropriateness of emotional displays, thereby separating workers from the design and control of the labor process. Workers, therefore, are estranged from their emotional product and the process of emotion production” (2012, p95).

Thus an exploration of how individuals act in the workplace and their feelings about this in relation to their identity will be of value in this study and in relation to the themes discussed in chapters two and three on professional identity, race and difference of how notions of ‘shock and puzzlement’ may be captured. Access to ‘emotion’ is unlikely to be given via a single interview but rather required prolonged contact within natural settings. This brings up ethical questions, to be discussed later in this chapter.

Smith’s work demonstrates a need to keep data grounded giving entry to the way in which “ruling relations” (Smith 1999) operate in order to generate control and reify regimes of power. This is seen often as being resident in language, particularly in post-structuralist analyses (Foucault 1983; Burman and Parker 1993; Sarup 1993), yet the presence of material forms reveal how *texts* increasingly inhabit the workspaces of the professional. This reveals how practices are ‘socially organised’ and in this way allows theory to be built from the ground in line with a critical realist ontology.

There are clear links with ethnomethodology (Garfinkel 1967) and other fields in which ‘institutional talk’ are studied to help make meaning. In this thesis, further analytic work will be carried out on how visual methods may be incorporated. While Smith has a deep interest with language her application of Marx is also demonstrated, by her emphasis on materiality, ie how ideological practices are made real by documentation and practices that are ordered by managers. This provides an opportunity to capture this information through participant observation, to trace how policies are interpreted and put into action.

4.4.3 SECTION SUMMARY

This section has briefly detailed some of the key influences and origins of IE, firstly standpoint that examines the relationship between the informants, the researcher and the field reflexively, and secondly Marxist work on alienation, how workers become estranged from the ‘products’ of their labour. Both of these necessitate a close attention to emotion and thus requires methods and relationships that are sensitive to these. In summary Smith uses three main procedures (Hussey 2012, p3) that begin by firstly examining the everyday world of the informant, secondly it establishes the local and trans-local social relations and then thirdly analyses the ideologies and discourses which co-ordinate relations. This approach aligns clearly with the research questions and their concerns about how ‘shock and puzzlement’ are manifest and experienced in the research settings. The next section details some of the implications of the problematics of race and education in research within this thesis.

4.5 TO ‘IE’ OR NOT TO ‘IE’

“And what went wrong when other alchemists tried to make gold and were unable to do so?” “They were only looking for gold,” his companion answered.” They were seeking the treasure of their destiny, without wanting actually to live out the destiny.” (Coelho 2006, p120)

4.5.1. INTRODUCTION

This section aims to examine the problem of race in ethnography and to detail how IE provides an appropriate vehicle with which to examine race and difference. It builds on the work in Chapter 3. While IE has been used to address issues of gender in particular, using feminist lenses and to examine how ruling relations impact on women, its direct application to matters of race has not been tested in as great a depth.

Although Smith originally strived to develop it as a “sociology for women” with its origins in Western feminism, she became concerned how the category “woman” excluded women of colour, disabled women and others. She recognised that using standpoint the “implicit presence of class, sexuality and colonialism began to be

exposed” (2005, p8). This moved IE away from essentialist views of gender (as well as race/class etc.) and led to what had been “sociology from women’s experience” (1987, 1992) into one which as a “sociology for people”(2005). This resonated for me in my personal beliefs while I had begun with an anti-racist Black Marxist approach I began to become aware that the aggressive Race Awareness Training (RAT) approach used in the 1980s (Sivanandan 1982) was counter-productive and that it led to a ‘blame’ culture and thus a more complex approach was required. Dependent on inducing feelings of “guilt at being white” (Denney 1992, p159) it failed partly due to “psychologising and individualising issues which are institutional in origin” (Ahmed 1991, p168) and with a focus on skin ‘colour’. Therefore, IE offers an opportunity to focus on wider organisational ordering, rather than see a simplistic white ‘complicity’ in oppression.

IE founds itself as a critical approach which aims to uncover ruling relations and this is present in the work of its proponents but primarily in relation to gender(Smith 1990, 1993) . It also has a strong potential in relation to race but as an emerging methodology, there are relatively few examples of work in relation to race (See Ruhland et al (2008) and Ranero (2011) as notable exceptions). Campbell and Gregor point out the problems particularly in relation to this thesis

“Students may learn anti-racist and anti-oppressive tenets and practice them faithfully but they may not have learnt to recognise historical conditioning and continuing institutional enforcement of their knowing that stems from living in their own bodies specific place and under specific conditions in the world.” (2002, p23)

However in particular IE being mindful of criticisms of binary methods in early feminism, as with anti-racist struggles, does not seek to extract ‘race’ as a single marker rather it strives to identify intersections of the social divisions. In a classic IE text Diamond using participant observation as a care worker details how he is asked by a manager, “*Now why would a white guy want to work for these kinds of wages*” (1992, p185) displaying succinctly the complex relations of gender, race and class that need unpicking and would be missed in interviews. Thus, methods do not look for overt examples of race discrimination but examine the wider social relations, if and when such instances occur.

The opening Coelho quote in this section provides an interesting counterpoint to positivist methods of research in which a direct focus on the phenomenon prevents a holistic picture emerging and thus an overt focus on race may be counter-productive.

4.5.2 INTERSECTIONALITY

Central to this thesis is how IE draws on intersectionality and while there is not ample space to do full justice to the topic here, the methodological implications will briefly be sketched out here. Emerging from the work of noted Black feminists including (Hill-Collins 1990, Crenshaw 1996, Yuval-Davis 2007) which highlight how “interlocking systems of oppression” may come into play in social settings. Intersectionality begins by examining how knowledge is held by individuals, groups and via institutions, to produce a ‘matrix of domination’, seeing oppressions not as ‘additive’ but interconnected. In Black Feminist thought (Hill-Collins 1990) draws on strands of standpoint theory in which the perceptions of the knower and their social cultural and historical location are acknowledged, giving access to how resistance may be created and opposed, both at a personal and at a political level. The methodological implications are that intersectionality requires approaches that can identify different aspects of identity that may be seen as oppressive. When these are intertwined this is particularly difficult, as it seeks not to separate out the strands such as race and gender but to examine the multiple impacts of domination. These accord with Smith’s criteria from IE in section 4.4.3.

Hill-Collins (1990) sees three axes or levels as being important in unpicking privilege and domination

- personal biography
- the group cultural context created by race, class and gender
- and the systemic level of social institutions

This produces a number of complexities for example

- “Traditional accounts assume that power as domination operates from the top down by forcing and controlling unwilling victims to

bend to the will of more powerful superiors. But these accounts fail to account for questions concerning why, for example, women stay with abusive men even with ample opportunity to leave”
(Hill-Collins 1990, p224)

Narratives are made more labyrinthine, being influenced by “other axes such as religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and age” (Ridener nd). Thus, it is essential to elicit accounts of how these inter-linkages take place in the life histories (Bathmaker and Harnett 2010) of the informants and their perceptions of events. This may be displayed as compliance, resistance or just indifference. “Oppression is filled with (such) contradictions because these approaches fail to recognize that a matrix of domination contains few pure victims or oppressors” (Hill-Collins 1990, p287). An overt focus on visible resistance a feature of Marxist-influenced work (MacDonald 1991) misses out some of the less accessible evidence, prone to Coelho’s (2006) warning.

Intersectionality arose from disenfranchised groups precisely because they did not feel that they had a voice and found that sometimes divisions amongst themselves could not be explained simply. Primarily groups were set-up to look at race, gender and sexuality, though disability and class too were addressed, albeit subject to internal divisions preventing them from ‘unifying’. Jordan-Zachery points out that for intersectional analyses no individual is ever just privileged or oppressed (2007, p255). Adopted among other disciplines its use has been prominent in feminist, queer and disability scholarship. Given the development of intersectionality to explore ‘difference’ and inequality its primary application has been sociological and political, its application to social research presents methodological challenges.

Its use for examining race in education is the primary application in this thesis. The laxity in definition has been acknowledged, Dhamoon sees intersectionality as “a loose set of ideas about how to undertake research” (2008, p3). It clearly fits within critical theoretical research paradigms that see society as being subject to control by elite forces. However increasingly this is seen as less of a ‘binary’ than in CT in earlier phases. The interlocking complexities which triggered Hill-Collins’ work, showed that uncovering ‘inequality’ is not purely about producing evidence of transgressions but is dependent upon examining complex narratives, experienced

particularly by Black women. Dorothy Smith too foresaw problems signified by an all-consuming label of ‘woman’ which overshadowed complexities of race, sexuality, class and disability. There is a need to tread carefully here as Somekh warns “Human experience is characterized by complexity and social science researchers need to resist the temptation to impose unwarranted order through the application of ‘one-size fits all’ theories. (2005, p3).

The matrix of domination put forward by Hill-Collins(1990) was developed in reaction to the reductionist Marxist and feminist versions focusing on a singular aspect of identity, seeing it as a more dynamic and layered. This still presents conceptual problems as it seems impossible to apply ‘weighting’ to different components, leading to what Kantola and Nousiainen (2009) term an “oppression Olympics” as groups vie for resources and attention. McCall (2005) and Yuval-Davis (2006) suggest that it is important that methods should be adopted which include all social phenomena not just those of one specific group (Choo and Ferree 2010, p133). This is truer for the additive rather than individualised components of oppression, that are part of intersectional analysis. Dhamoon and Hankivsky point out that the

“intersectionality model does not view systems of power or modes of identification in isolation, precisely because these exist, perform, and function through one another. Nor are they outside the subject and therefore extractable as pure or contained and non-contradictory entities” (2011, p 28)

The methods chapters sets out to examines the epistemological (the foundation of knowledge), axiomatic (values) and ontological (the nature of being) aspects surrounding the research subject and evaluates the limits of each. However, these too are not discrete areas rather they are inter-related and complications arise in trying to address each of them separately. In education settings, the primary critical arguments to tackling race ‘problems’ have come from pluralistic and then anti-racist works. As a paradigm to explain difference, intersectionality is less equivocal or clear about how to ‘oppose’ race specifically seeing it as an amalgam and therefore not a site for unilateral but rather multiple actions if it is to tackle difference.

While multiculturalism suggested sharing ‘knowledge’ of culture brings about familiarity and thereby reduces prejudice. Anti-racism from a Marxist perspective, developed from CT approaches, is dependent on using class as a lens to examine power relations and to uncover how this privileges Western White dominant groups on the basis of capital. Both multicultural and anti-racist approaches saw rights and the implementation of legislation as being important landmarks in providing protection. In chapter three, I critiqued managerialist, bureaucratic NPM frameworks for race, which suggest that individualised targets offer more efficient methods of monitoring inequality. This will be built on further in chapter seven, while multicultural and anti-racist explanations focus on causal reasons for ‘prejudice’, the use of post-structural and post-modern approaches suggest that discourse is a more nuanced way of capturing difference. While discourse itself is very much a ‘loaded-term’, the arrival of intersectionality and competing aspects of identity is very much suited to representations offering much more complex stories about difference. It is essential that researchers are able to capture these nuances and to be able to unpick how this is present in language. There is of course no one reading and this echoing Jordan-Zachery’s point above. Having outlined these methodological problems, it is clear that the methods need to have a broad scope which are capable of picking up on multiple narratives in the setting and which offer possibilities for analytical procedures to unpick multiple complexity. This will be explored in the next chapter, which goes into detail with regard to the building and representation of narrative.

There is no easy route to ‘weigh’ or ‘display’ intersectionality, the methods need to pay attention to the three axes that are presented by Hill-Collins of the personal, the social and the institutional. This is a clear facet of IE and in particular the capturing the first is essential the next section examines problems of capturing the second and third with respect to race.

4.5.3 RESEARCHING RACE

Having outlined the need for a holistic approach there is a need to examine the problematic of “researching” race. A brief examination of how race was/ is/and maybe conceptualised is pertinent building on the discussion in chapter three. In order to ‘trace’ race in education, it becomes necessary to draw on complex methods

of examining subject positions. Particularly within a study dependent upon participant observation this requires in reflexive examination of how the methods may or may not provide entry instances of ‘shock and puzzlement’ around race for informants.

It is necessary to detail the impact of the changing landscape around race, the meta-stability of the concept on the research process. The transition from a biological referent to a cultural (for example see Modood 1994; Back 1996; Malik 1996;) has in education become transmuted into a purely taxonomic method of ‘assuring’ equality, via the Equality Act (2010) and which is under attack with proposed abolition of the Public Sector Equality Duty (PSED) (Martinson 2013). This comes under scrutiny in the day-to-day work encountered by education professionals in the data chapters. This is counter to a more dialogical approach one that may be required in response to ‘cultural’ racism. The earlier ‘shocks and puzzlement’ created by landmark work such as that of (Coard 1971; Stone 1981; Mac n Ghail 1988, 1992; Mirza 1992; Dadzie 1997; Sewell 1997) drew attention to stark injustices. Lee and Lutz intimate “racism is not what it used to be” (2005, p2). The moves to ‘bureaucratise’ race have led to its presence being lowered.

The landscape of education has become increasingly populated less by social transformational possibilities and more by policy documentation, the circulation of which in regard to ‘equality’ are the subject of Sara Ahmed’s work on how this “shape(s) or even make(s) organisation” (2007, p591). Which leads up to a focus for Ahmed on how documents lead to performance, linking it to Smith’s work on institutional ethnography (1987, 1990, 1999, 2005) allowing for an examination of formal guidance as a means of reproducing “ruling relations” (1999) which are visible in ‘texts’ that circulate in the organisation. These may be written but can also be embedded in practices. An analysis of these can help to demonstrate how while espousing anti-discriminatory sentiments, (see Lentin in chapter three) Ahmed points out “Such statements of commitment might work to block rather than enable action” (2007, p601) and how for institutional ethnographers, “Well-intentioned work may be part of the oppressive relations of ruling” (Campbell and Gregor 2004, p39). This is evident in some of the multicultural performance (see later) that is present in schools.

While originally biological views of race, now termed as a “*fabulous fiction*” (Nayak 2006, p411) originally proliferated. The focus was often about revealing instances of ‘racist’ behaviour in response to ‘colour’, as evidenced in classical research on race (Coard, 1971; Mirza, 1992; Dadzie, 1997; Sewell, 1997) and was fruitful in that it put pressure on overt oppressive behaviour to be acted on. Nayak suggests that this has resulted in a ‘white normalcy’ which results in ‘pathological perceptions of racialised Others’ (2006, p413) as ‘problems’ and as a response to these language associated with ‘race’ has become ever more complex, bringing with it the need for as Gunaratnam, drawing on Lather terms it a “doubled practice” which

“enables significant connections to be made between the recognition of the multiple meanings of difference in relation to the conceptualization of ‘race’ and ethnicity, and in relation to methodological practices. These connections lay important foundations for exploring the different layers involved in doubled research and for connecting theory with practice.”
(2003, p39)

The complexities of race are depicted further by Brah (1994), suggesting that difference has four dynamics - experience, social relation, subjectivity and identity and thus is always in flux. The researchers aim is not to ‘fix’ these but to establish parameters and there is a need to show how the individual makes sense of their experiences, the forces that shape their difference economically, culturally and politically, relates to their social world and in how identity fluctuates around a core. This requires a close attention to local events and necessitates a research strategy that provides close contact and exploration of the feelings and emotions of the informants.

This presents a challenge to researchers attempting to unpick the nuances that exist in contemporary society and are being played out to, as Leonardo (2009) may term it, a ‘white-supremacist’ model that deals in absences, rather than presence and through this develops a ‘colour-blind’ approach thereby privileging a hegemony of whiteness. This has become underpinned by a liberal philosophy, focused overtly on rights that “sees racism as an individual pathology – an outcome of an individual’s irrational prejudices – and not a widespread societal problem” (Lee and Lutz 2005,

p8). Rights discourses in education, were strongly visible in this study (see Chapters 5 and 6) , being advanced by the informants, but evidences the pedestrian, taxonomic ways in which it has become adopted into quotas and procedures. This liberal discourse has become underlined by a, “legalistic understanding of racism as a transgression of rights to which each person is entitled in a liberal democracy” (Lee and Lutz 2005, p9). Difference though is undeniably still manifest in education through unequal outcomes that have a “material reality”, (Gillborn 2008, p44) in which teachers have lower expectations of African-Caribbean males. This accords with IE, in which Smith details how texts activate social relations towards actors.

An examination of activities in-situ reveals the tensions within the actualities of the research landscape gathered through observation, interviews and interrogation of documents and involves the informant in a dialogue about their conceptions. A focus on events that, “shock and puzzle” and how they affect reflection, requires a doubled practice utilising peculiar events from the landscape and of the language used can be used to interrogate the connections to map them. IE see the material forms being reproduced in local discourse, they exist in the language and documentation and are activated by texts such as policies, educational targets and bodies such as OFSTED that are discussed with informants. The mechanisms to extract them are not pre-set by the researcher but detail how they may be raced, gendered and classed as with Gunaratnam’s layers (2003). Thus using observation, interviews and access to texts provide initial entry points. The process of analysis does not take this at face value and strives to attain a deeper understanding that contrasts and compares the institutional talk and activity with the documentation to provide fuller interpretations while constructing a dialogue with informants about their perceptions.

This section has detailed briefly some of the complexities of researching race and identified key strengths of IE in providing rich data grounded in local events. By paying close attention to events and emotions, through close contact and observation we can examine the ‘traces’. While the above is presented as a ‘distanced account’ with minimal usage of the first person the main instrument of collection, alluded to in the first section is of course, myself and thus my own experiences as an educator and Black activist cannot be “edited out”. There is a strong ethical dimension to this about the ways in which knowledge becomes produced, while positivist paradigms

emphasise distance, “feminist methodologies expose unreasonable assumptions about the superiority and neutrality of reason” Ramazanoglu (1992, p211). This section has synthesised core elements of IE to synthesise them with researching race. The following section moves to consider entry to the field.

4.6 ENTERING THE FIELD

The previous sections have outlined the methodological problems associated with this study. This section will build a picture of the interview sites, to provide an overview of data collection but firstly will discuss some of the ethical issues involved.

4.6.1 ETHICAL ISSUES

The principal benefactor of the research in a PhD study, particularly in social science is usually that of the doctoral candidate and this brings an unequal dynamic to the relationship, with possible conflicts of interest, underlining the necessity of acting ethically. For any researcher there can be rewards whether monetary or enhancement of standing, the acquisition of data is not then purely intrinsically for its sake, but produces extrinsic gains. Thus, an examination of the power relationship is necessary and to consider the duty of care I have towards informants (Israel and Hay 2006). While few of us such as Cushing did (*ibid.*, p3) are likely to pull a knife on informants to gain access to research sites, the desire to collect ‘knowledge’ particularly if we regard it as being socially useful can be tempted to resort to pressurising participants. Behaving ethically means acquiring and safeguarding the ‘trust’ of our informants in the process and being aware of possible harm and how knowledge acquisition is “balanced against the potential benefit of research to wider society” (Smyth and Williamson 2004, p6)

Within social research some of the revelations offered may be very intimate and it is essential that the informants are protected in the use of personal narratives both for their own well-being and their position in a setting. Given the role of emotion in this study, it is essential that staff are given access to support and this was discussed when going through the ethical agreements with the informants (Appendix A). However, ethics in research is more than the completion of forms and needs to be situated (Simons and Usher 2000).

I had met with a respected education professor at a conference three months before I began my field research, and she disclosed that an extensive study on race was blocked at the last minute after all the school partners pulled out. She felt it was due to the possible ‘sensitivity’ about race. This however made me more determined in that pursuing knowledge in this area had an ethical dimension in trying to generate research about equality. Schools are fundamentally an important site of work on race and equality and this cannot be carried out well without good quality research. I understand that schools have a great sensitivity to matters of race and the possible ‘unveiling’ of problems by an outsider presented a real risk. Attention to confidentiality is necessary from the outset.

When undertaking my masters’ research, I had been refused access to an informant, by one school senior manager after I had informally agreed participation. Thus, one of the key tensions was in regard to the gatekeeper. I therefore decided to use a broker rather than approaching individuals directly as status is important, as is knowledge of networks. It is also necessary for researchers to use tact in negotiating access and be familiar with the languages and practices of the research settings. Access also presents an outsider/insider dilemma (Spradley 1979), pertinent to this study, in that I was an insider as I used to be a school teacher but as a University lecturer I was an outsider. This had pros and cons in that the status of being in HE meant that I could deal directly with senior managers being seen on a par with them. However, there was a chance that I could alienate my informants and thus I spent time making a number of calls and emailing to explain the position before formally meeting and agreeing the conditions. I found my youth and community work skills very useful here and did my best to put staff at ease.

O’Reilly (2009, p59) suggests that ethnography is “inherently unethical” as she details the multiple ways in which researchers watch, talk with, analyse and present critical views of informants. In this case it was essential to guarantee confidentiality for the informants and they were asked to sign consent forms. (Appendix A). This was drawn up in accordance with the BSA and BERA codes of practice and was granted ethical approval via the Manchester Metropolitan University, Institute of Education ethics committee.

A focus on the direct aspects such as possible traumas from questioning are an immediate concern involving issues of access, consent and confidentiality (O'Reilly 2009). While these issues are about ensuring safety participants cannot be entirely clear about their role and the consequences of participating will always contain risks. This represents a deontological approach to ethics (Israel and Hay 2006; Harrison and Rooney 2012), using a code of practice and while this is the most common method there are problems of using this approach as participants once involved may not feel able to withdraw, especially if a relationship has been built. For researchers drawing on critical theory, an examination of how knowledge is acquired, generated and distributed, is a reflexive part of the process. Thus, informants needed to be clear that they would not be manipulated in anyway, that they could withdraw from the process I therefore took care to remind them of this regularly but this did create tensions for myself, which I discuss below.

4.6.2 AFTER-SHOCK - THE ETHICS OF SUPPORT FOR INFORMANTS

Having outlined the ethical procedures taken for the research to gain approval, I will turn my attention to one of the dilemmas that arose in carrying out the fieldwork on this thesis. While deontological procedures are in place to 'protect' participants, firstly researchers need greater reflexivity about safeguarding when looking at race and difference and secondly to prepare themselves thoroughly in advance to provide advice, guidance and support.

At the outset, as a novice researcher, I was interested in how the emotions of shock and puzzlement might shape the responses of the informants, the process of gaining ethical approval seemed to be just another procedural hurdle to be cleared, the 'real' work it appeared was the 'data collection'. As an early postgraduate student initially, this seemed to be more about paperwork than about power relationships. In dealing with inanimate objects in the natural sciences this may be the case, however in working with human subjects, the process of elicitation is necessarily invasive. For human subjects much of the 'data' will be internalised and it is incumbent on the researcher to 'extract' or 'elicit' rather than 'collect data', either by observation in the setting or through direct intervention. While positivist researchers seek to minimise the disturbance to avoid accusations of bias (Hammersley and Gomm

1997), qualitative researchers are much less worried about the effects of this. Using either approach there is a pressure on the researcher to produce rich material for analysis, producing tensions. Blaxter et al (2001, p2) suggest that a common cause of ethical challenge is “conflicts of interest between the researcher and the researched” and

“The researcher may be excited about his or her research idea, and be keen to collect in-depth high quality data from those most closely affected by whatever they are researching.” (2010, p2)

Offering a temptation to act unethically in obtaining data. I certainly experienced excitement when undertaking interviews in particular where compelling material emerged. In conversations, I would try to keep the informants talking in order to be able to reproduce these ‘pearls’ later, demonstrating the authenticity and richness of ‘my’ data. As researchers, like miners (or perhaps pirates) we take proximity to particular emotional signs or the detailed event as an indicator that we are near ‘treasure’, as internal stories not evident on the surface, become accessed. Thus the pressure to act to produce ‘deep accounts’, becomes heightened by emotional responses in situ. I certainly gained pleasure when during interview seemingly ‘rich’ data, were being voiced by informants. Reflecting on this, I now feel a slight shame that I could maybe be party to ‘manipulation’. It came particularly to the fore, when Tasneem was aggressively reprimanded by a senior manager while I was in her presence (section 7.2.1). Never having undertaken research where observation formed such a large part of the process, I ‘knew’ I had to revisit this after an appropriate hiatus but gave less thought to the support that she needed. I had not examined the implications of this and need to explore this further below.

A HIDDEN COMPACT - PIRATES OR RESEARCHERS?

Rafferty writes about the “unspoken compact of research” (2004, p121) in which she critiques her work in investigative journalism, as she attempts to secure a story. In the case of reporters, there is some possible pay off for the subject, as ‘their’ tale receives exposure. However, this is not clearly the case in small-scale human research that examines the narratives of individuals and groups in order to produce scrutiny of the social relationships. Being witness to notable events produces a need to investigate further aspects that previously may have passed by unremarked or were below the notice of the informant. While for Rafferty journalists are not

“therapists” (2004, p124), ethical codes for researchers are more clearly set out, via academic ethics committees (Kent et al 2002) or IRBs (Mabry 2009, p124), which have institutionalised the process in recent times. Where there is a possibility of harm, it is now ‘de rigueur’ to ensure that ‘counselling’ will be provided in the case of “emotional distress”. It is necessary to “reduce the sense of intrusion” (BERA 2011) and to “desist immediately” (ibid) in the case of “distress or discomfort” (ibid). The tension is that while the researcher may be well-versed in their expectations, informants are less well so. While initially the researcher, particularly in a long-scale study may face suspicion, shortly we often find that an informant’s guard drops. This makes us privy to information that they may not have discussed with other colleagues, family and friends.

Revisiting my understanding of the construction of ‘shock’, through the fieldwork has caused me to re-examine the protocols. The inference from chapter two is that the puzzles are about ‘professional’ dilemmas, neglecting the ‘personal’. In teaching, this typically may be about communication with children or about how to handle particularly problematic groups. In setting out to examine race it should have been more obvious to me that interactions with other staff would come to the fore and the emotional aspects of this component. I outlined in chapter one of my personal experience of being discriminated. Although I did not realise until later, that this was taking place, it had a major effect on my career path. Had I followed my critical theoretical influences in a more reflexive manner, at the outset, it was almost certain that I was going to locate instances of racism and sexism. The acceptance of this as an everyday occurrence (Essed 1991) seems partially to suggest that it is ‘tolerable’.

I have therefore begun to question what constitutes ‘acceptable levels’ of discrimination. The British Psychological Society states that on encountering the “existence of psychological or physical problems of which a participant may appear to be unaware.” “If the issue is serious and the investigator is not competent to offer assistance” (2014, p 23) it becomes necessary to offer appropriate support. There is little academic literature or researcher guidance about the process of referral in cases of ‘emotional distress’, with the exception of work from counselling and psychotherapy (see for example BACP 2004; Bond 2004, 2013; Thoma and Houser

2012; Danchev and Ross 2013, BPS 2014). McCosker et al relate problems of working in sensitive areas, and how this may result in problems with psychological well-being (2001). In particular, areas such as abuse or death, this is well documented (Parker and Ulrich 1990; Lee 1993; Young 1997; Rowling 1999) and also for vulnerable groups such as children (Tisdall et al 2009). Parker and Ulrich suggest that this may result in the researcher taking on a “counselling” role (1990, p 248). However, a problem arises in ascertaining whether the researcher is skilled enough to deal with differing scenarios and whether they are equipped to provide an appropriate referral. McCosker et al (2001) suggests that a deontological approach suffices and this might be met by procedures such as using risk assessment. (Brunel University 2014) as this produces direct action, the allocation of ‘risk’ from discussion of material though still is subjective. There are philosophical and moral issues in carrying out research. Deontological aspects are satisfied by filling in the forms, passing the process and offering ‘support’, here by referral to the CEHR (Appendix A). Clear now is the realisation that in this instance this was probably well short of the resources required to provide some restitution for Tasneem. The CEHR, now much reduced offers legislative support for race/ difference discrimination cases. The ‘shock’ admonishment discussed in chapter seven was not a clear instance of this and the support almost certainly would have failed to meet her needs. This calls into question the supplying of ‘referral’, without the requisite level of expertise. I realise now it is essential that researchers adopt ethics approaches that are “contextual and relational” (Birch et al 2002, p1). Whilst my initial approach was to ‘seduce’ the ethics committee, (van den Hoonaard 2013), my proximity to the anguish faced by Tasneem has made me realise that the ‘compact’ needs to be handled with greater sensitivity and more informed action.

It is necessary to establish close and often trusting relationships in research on difference as it involves the disclosure of sometimes controversial and personal material, where counter-stories (Delgado and Stefancic 2001; Love 2004; Thomas 2008; Romm 2010; Rollock and Gillborn 2011) a CRT tool, are utilised in the process. While Davies sees this as an opportunity to ‘unburden’(1999, p48), relating a traumatic event with possible long-term consequences may be disempowering and isolating, in stark contrast to the values of critical researchers. CRT presents racism as normal (Ladson-Billings 1999) but Thomas warns against overt use of CT as

imposing researchers' ideological stances (2008, p60), with the possibility that this may destabilise the informants' situation further, particularly if the counselling or debriefing is inappropriate.

The consideration of a virtue-based approach to ethics in research (MacIntyre 1981; Crisp and Slote 1997; Birch et al 2002; Hursthouse 2002; Banks 2006; Knight 2007; Barsky 2010) may therefore have advantages. Shortly, rather than seeing research as being either utilitarian, providing benefit to the majority or consequential, to produce an abstract 'better world' or 'improve the situation of the individual', this requires qualities of 'goodness' in the researcher. Mauthner and Edwards argue that particularly for critical feminist researchers this would "require nurturance and care for their ethical conduct" (2002, p19). They criticise 'universalist' approaches that neglect the health and well-being of research informants. While deontological approaches are often terminated in the execution of a set process, a 'virtuous' researcher would be more compelled to seek timely and appropriate support for their informants. The smash'n'grab and "excitement" (Blaxter et al 2010) of a pirate-raid, for treasure in the field, is therefore less laudable than an approach which respects and draws on the narratives actively to safeguard, protect and empower the individual within their particular circumstances; helps them to understand the institutional shocks over time and how they might cope with them.

4.6.3 THE ACTORS AND SETTINGS

This thesis did not attempt to build a 'balanced' sample as might be part of a survey-based approach and given the themes of both race and reflection, potentially presented a very small field. Thus purposive sampling was undertaken to identify participants, this uses, "units (e.g., individuals, groups of individuals, institutions) based upon specific purposes associated with answering a research study's questions" (Teddlie and Yu 2007, p77). While previously in regard to race, this could be ascertained via LEA advisers, much direct work on race has become diminished and thus both Denise and Tasneem the key research informants were approached through an education charity which carries out work in schools and had acquired funding to develop work around community cohesion. They had been involved in developing projects with artists that had reflective practice as a focus.

The charity was approached to see if interested professionals might become involved in the research and after they self-referred, they were telephoned for further details. The fieldwork was carried out in two locations on two different LEAs, both of the schools are located in West Yorkshire. In order to maintain confidentiality pseudonyms were used. Research was carried out at the following sites after access had been agreed with managers and informants. All data has been anonymised.

ST BOTOLPH'S ST RC PRIMARY SCHOOL

The lead informant in this school is Denise who is a learning mentor, she is white, English, is in her late fifties and has been at the school for eight years. Originally, she had trained as a nurse and worked in paediatrics for ten years. Later, she took up an administrative role in the local NHS Trust and then re-trained to work in schools after getting a post via the Excellence in Cities programme in 1999. St Botolph's is a mono-culturally white socially disadvantaged area, in Loxley LEA, which has a very small BME population of 1.5%, made up of 0.8% mixed, 0.2 % Asian, 0.25 black British and 0.2% Chinese and other (Regeneris 2007).

St Botolph's is a medium-sized primary school having 11 teaching staff and 8 teaching assistants, all white, for 206 pupils. 21% of children are statemented. There are no non-English speaking pupils. ONS data indicates that about 97% of the catchment population is white. It has a high proportion eligible for school meals at 61.3%. Whilst the school staff were keen to show that they are in a 'deprived' area it was ranked at 13% in terms of the overall deprivation index. Other measures indicate that the area is ranked at 10.2% for health and 10.3 % for income. The head at the school has been in post about two years and is relatively young in her early thirties

QUEEN'S LANE C of E PRIMARY SCHOOL

The second key informant Tasneem, was born in the Seychelles and is ethnic Gujarati Indian, where there is a significant Indian population. Her family moved to the UK when she was two. She is a practising Muslim and wears a hijab. She is the only Asian teacher in Queen's Lane where she has been teaching for fifteen years.

She is in her early forties and is a middle-school leader. Presently she teaches the year five class.

Queen's Lane is in Hartside LEA , very close to the centre of a large town Conchester, which although mainly white has a large BME population, mainly made up of Pakistani and Indian communities who settled there in the 1960 and 70s. More recently, there has been a sizeable movement of Somali communities into the area. Queen's Lane is a large school it has 20 teaching staff and 17 teaching assistants (mainly part-time) for 447 pupils. The TAs are mainly BME, of Indian and Pakistani origin with two Somali TAs at various stages of training.

A small proportion of the children have special needs, 24/442 and are statemented, below the national average of (2.9%) (DfES 2005). There are 320 pupils where English is not the first language at home. 2010 data indicates that about 92% of the catchment population is white. This is not, however reflected in the make-up of the school, and the catchment local area was mainly Indian and Pakistani in origin with a significant and growing Somali population. Tasneem estimated there to be fifteen white children in the school. 38.0% are eligible for school meals. The area is ranked in the 8.7% most deprived areas of the country. The income levels are depressed being ranked at 3.9%. Other measures include 10.3% and, health at 9.1%. The school is C of E aided and is in a large Urban town in West Yorkshire. The head has been in post eighteen months, is white, male and aged 37.

Observation was undertaken of each of the research participants for 6 full days each mainly in school. They were also observed at a training event run by an arts organisation that they both attended in relation to reflective practice and race. Additionally detailed recorded interviews were undertaken prior to and after the main field research. Denise undertook additional training in community cohesion and also took children to a multicultural event, both run by the local LEA. Substantive interviews were also undertaken with two senior managers at St Botolph's and with two colleagues of Tasneem. As part of the research process mid-way through the process each of the informants was provided with a camera to take pictures of places that they found conducive to reflection in private and public environments. A small number of photographs were taken as part of the process of

various aspects of the school environment and of some of the artefacts produced during training events that were attended.

This produced a large corpus of interview and observational data that was transcribed and then input into a CAQDAS package NVIVO. This was initially coded and drawn on to produce initial analyses but as explained later, this process was not felt to be very fruitful. It became clear that in order to provide a more constructivist analysis, while certain elements were pinpointed, additional method of analysis would be required.

4.6.4 DATA SCHEDULE

The data collection involved the following activity

DATE	TITLE	Brief Details
24/11/08	Arts training Observation	Observation of training run by vol org on community cohesion Brief introductions to both informants and discussion(Full day).
18/11/08	Interview learning mentor St Botolphs	Initial interview (90 mins)
20/11/08	Interview teacher Queens Lane	Initial interview (90 mins)
8/1/09	Observation 1 Pikes Lane	Internal training at school on community cohesion (Half –day)
30/1/09	Observation 1 St Botolph's	General shadowing of learning mentor (Full day)
16/2/09	Observation 2 St Botolph's	Shadowing in school with after school event (Full day)
25/2/09	Observation 2 Pikes Lane	General shadowing of teacher (Full day)
13/3/09	Observation 3 Pikes Lane	Community cohesion assembly and shadowing of twinning project(Full day)
6/4/09	Observation 4 St Botolph's	Training for learning mentors on community cohesion run by LEA advisor(Full day)
9/6/09	Observation 5 St Botolph's	Shadow general duties of LM, meeting with parent, Interview other members on Reflective Practice course (Full day)
17/6/09	Observation 4 Pikes Lane	Shadow teacher, interview 'interested teacher' observation of small team meeting(Full day)
24/6/09	Interview with head at St Botolph's	Discuss frameworks, RP training, managing RP in schools, possible benefits/drawbacks(75 mins)
6/7/09	Interview St Botolph's	Final Interview with Learning mentor (90 mins)
7/7/09	Observation 5 Pikes Lane	General shadowing School sports day (Full day)
18/6/09	Interview Adviser	Interview with LEA adviser St Botolphs (90 mins)
18/6/09	Meeting Pikes Lane	Staff meeting on community cohesion (Half-day)
29/7/09	Pikes Lane	Final interview with teacher (100 min)

This produced in excess of 10 days of observation interspersed with short discussions mainly in school but with two at external training events , four substantial interviews with the two key informants, interviews with the head and LEA advisor at St Botolphs and interviews with two of Tasneem's colleagues. Shorter interviews also took place with the teaching assistants at St Botolph's and the deputy head at Pikes Lane. Additionally as outlined below a series of images were taken by informants as well as myself.

4.7 LIGHTING, SHADING AND THEN COLOURING

Having laid the scene above, illustrating the research setting with a stream of situational data there is a seeming contradiction here that while the thesis is a qualitative project it seems mandatory to foreground numbers and quantitative measures in order to form an initial picture. It also suggests that outlining the method is a mechanistic process which moves from research questions to method to data through to analysis and findings in a horizontal fashion when the research process in a qualitative project is one which doubt, uncertainty, scepticism and questions of power are central. Irigaray (1993, p9) suggests that this is due to masculine morphology which fears "fluidity, uncertainty and connection" in the research process. Particularly the latter, divorces data from the setting, to displace and reassemble, providing possibilities for misrepresentation.

As a work of 'discovery' there is an inherent messiness (Bryman 2012) and uncertainty (Goodnough 2008) in social research. Law explains how outside of scientific laboratory conditions it can be difficult to reproduce the results of a 'novel' experiment (2004, p50) and thus knowledge about the context is crucial. Using critical ethnographic methods is not a clear ordered sequential process. While drawing up 'methods' may indicate the usage of a scientific 'rigorous' approach, this does not always bring a surety to the research journey as the underlying assumptions can break down in social circumstances. While Schön sees shock as inducing action, how this takes place in human relations may differ from that of his specialist area of professional architecture. In progressing, we realise that critical lenses, methods and tools place light and shade on the research process,

especially when dealing with concepts such as 'shocks and puzzles', where emotion and relationships are important.

Reflexively the process of turning data, numeric or otherwise into words is essentially one which involves interpretation and contextualisation rather than one of mere presentation. Gorard warning against the use of positivist measures, states numeric results should not be accepted at “face value” (2006, p1). In post-positivism (Prasad 2005, p5) there is still held to be a concrete, separate 'reality' independent from the researcher. Whilst physical laws and actions are measureable and quantifiable, human society operates in ways that are subjective. This is problematic, as perceptions of reality fluctuate according to individual beliefs. Critiques of knowledge by (Kuhn1970; Lakatos1980; Feyerabend 1987) show that acknowledgement of the social and therefore the subjective is required.

Prasad argues that the development of “craft traditions” (2005, p6) enables qualitative researchers to bring a methodological rigour to the process. In this she draws on Flyvbjerg in which researchers aim for *techne* which is “the application of technical knowledge and skills according to a pragmatic instrumental rationality” (Prasad; 2005. p7). Crafting knowledge requires new tools using the visual (Pink 2007; Butler-Kisber 2010) was an important means of achieving this.

This thesis aims for local theory-building (Section 4.1) which generates more holistic knowledge. While the informants talked about 'reflection', the evidence was limited and although Tasneem kept a diary, she did not feel able to share this with me. Thus, I turned to more tangential means to elicit ‘information’. Later on in the process I gave out cameras to both the informants and asked them to take photographs of places which they found conducive to reflection. This means of accessing the social in greater detail proved invaluable. The visual images of reflective spaces were created by the informants, provided access to private areas that would not normally have been accessed, as well as relational data about the context and led to an interrogation of the relationships in the setting and in terms of standpoint provided an indispensable contribution.

My primary worries about this section is whether I have done 'enough' research but the question of what constitutes 'enough' relates to a statistical measures used in probability sampling. This tension for many researchers relates to validity when in fact this should not have been issue for me as the aim is not transferability. The corpus of the data filled many pages of tightly-spaced notes, interview transcripts, contained audio recordings, visual images and documents collected in the field. There is more than enough data to keep me going for many years and to explore questions in relation to my thesis.

Having introduced the setting, questions are already beginning to arise, the presentation of the background data stimulates further questions about the participants and the settings. This chapter has demonstrated how the process illuminate and outlines the contours of the study. The next discusses the problems of colouring, shading and filling in.

CHAPTER 5

DIGITAL AND ANALOGUES IN JIGSAW-MAKING - ART OR SCIENCE IN STORY TELLING? METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF ANALYSIS

5.1.1 INTRODUCTION - SCALING MOUNTAINS WITH WORDS AND POETRY

The previous chapter has laid clear foundations for this thesis. It detailed the research landscape. It also discussed the ontological problems associated with institutional ethnography. A key issue was how examining race and its problematics, also outlined in chapter three affect the dynamics of researcher ‘positioning’ in attempting to create a ‘distanced’ approach, when setting out to examine emotions and feelings of informants. If research is to be a journey of discovery the following chapter examines how having entered the field, in this case using mountain-climbing as metaphor, the researcher can develop appropriate tools with which to move to a re-telling of the journey to relate what has been learned not just about the terrain but also of the process of exploration. It examines the dilemmas of selecting from the corpus of the data and critically examines how NVIVO the preferred software for qualitative analysis foregrounds the use of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Charmaz 2006) which looks for patterns (Miles and Huberman 1994; Saldana 2009). It outlines issues related to validity in qualitative research. It goes on to contrast how arts-based methods can help to retain informant voice with material from the Listening Guide (see later) to produce more compelling narratives.

5.1.2 COMPREHENDING A MOUNTAIN – THE PROMISE OF CAQDAS

How can we comprehend a mountain? It is so vast. We can see its impressive majesty in the distance. Sometimes obscured by cloud, at other times visible as clearly as a bell. From different vantage points it may be a gentle slope, elsewhere forbidding, a sheer rising face. From close up it may look monumental, from a distance merely part of a minor range of hills. The task in hand is to map and make

realisable the mountain of data. Using “multiple data sources” Miles and Huberman (1994, p8) make it is possible to capture many different aspects of the landscape of our mountain of data and represent it in myriad ways. However “looking at and recording everything, is of course, impossible” (Delamont 2002, p133), this could be reduced by undertaking a more selective approach to data collection in the first instance but this in many ways is against the spirit and almost anathema to qualitative researchers, causing much stress and anguish as we decide which data to record. While researchers with more positivist leanings are clear about their focus, qualitative researchers are much keener to entertain doubt and to broaden the tools available to them and the data they collect. Even in the smallest study it is possible to generate more data than can be analysed in the time available (Goetz and LeCompte 1981). Thus, the dilemma of all qualitative researchers is one of problems of data reduction. (Goetz and LeCompte 1981) it is easy to become disillusioned with the task in which “paralysis and despair can easily occur” (Coffey and Atkinson 1996, p2).

The turn to technology is almost inevitable and thus the ‘promise’ of Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS). Bazeley (2007) praises the development of NVIVO software, “The computer’s capacity for recording, sorting, matching and linking can be harnessed by the researcher to assist in answering their research questions from the data” (2007, p2). The “use of a computer helps to ensure rigour in the analysis process” (2007, p3), which is achieved through “routinizing coding and analysis” (Goble et al 2012). They further suggest, that the “most cited reason for adopting the software is that it provides material evidence of the analytic process” (Evers 2011). It tracks researcher decision-making through memos (Goble et al 2012).Thus NVIVO allows possibilities for reflexivity an essential part of qualitative data analysis which supposedly has the effect of a reduction in researcher bias (Baugh et al 2010), suggesting that NVIVO offers greater rigour and validity in data analysis.

While being the most popular method of analysis in qualitative research, it is not always the most appropriate as, the process of coding results in the ‘quantititising’ of qualitative data, which gives it a sheen of scientific method but this in fact as outlined below is suspect.

I was also keen to use photo-elicitation. Samuels (2007 219) describes how this produces data that is “more detailed, more meaningful to the informants and enables the researcher to develop a ‘rapport’ (with participants) much more quickly”. This creativity in the data collection process (Butler-Kisber 2010) seemed to add to the possibilities and to aid solving the dilemma of how to ‘comprehend’ a mountain. Statistics such as the height above sea level or its mass, the placement of contours do not necessary allow us to gain an understanding of the majesty of the mountain, its undulations and the streams that run through it. However, the use of a guide or informant who is skilled in manoeuvring the landscape on a day-to-day basis provides access to locally situated knowledge, not just in a literal spoken sense but drawing on their geographical, visual and cultural connections involved the invocation of different ways of knowing.

Qualitative research sets a trap for itself in taking a broad approach to data collection. It is necessary to undertake selection, whether it is in a systematic way such as coding or by other means. The process of collation and the analysis of data needs to be outlined in order to justify the means. However, the selection of the types of data and the means of analysis will always foreground particular aspects. It is necessary to explain clearly the particular paradigm of operation (Babbie 2001), as the orientation will affect the findings and how different types of data, require alternative types of analyses being dependent on the epistemological frames in use.

Using coding with ethnographic data is not new, heuristic devices such as filing systems employed by Whyte in his classic work, ‘Street Corner Society’ (1955) described an ‘indexing’ system (Deegan 2001; Lofland and Lofland 1984). Becker et al (1984) pioneered the use of coding via computers, using them in order to act as ‘shortcuts’ to retrieve the data. More recently coding via computer has enabled almost limitless amounts of data to be stored and for them to be analysed in a number of ways. This offered a potential solution to the dilemma of ‘mixing’ data-types such as interview and visual material.

Programs such as NVIVO can support theory-building through the visualization of relationships between data and/or theoretical constructs. (Konig 2007) The use of software in inputting data has almost become ubiquitous however there are problems associated with it there is a danger that qualitative data will become subject to

quantitative analysis (Butler-Kisber 2010, p43) . Given that the purposes of qualitative research is to provide a richer seam of data then this is particularly an issue, preservation of the richness is an asset not a means to apply ‘scientific’ tests and the consequences of this need examining.

The use of computers permits researchers to code data and allows the different dimensions to be mapped back into a singular medium or at least a single database and this seems attractive but as with any process, trying to reduce the data has its pitfalls. It is important to preserve information whilst at the same time avoiding ‘heaped’ data (Wolcott 1994, p12) “an indication that the researcher is unable to decide which elements are important”. Goetz and Le Compte (1981) cite the importance of using qualitative data in generating ‘analytic constructs’, thus the researcher is not searching for causality but is trying to mesh with the data in a more sophisticated way by creating and scrutinising connections. Coffey and Atkinson (1996), drawing on Miles and Huberman (1994) cite the importance of using codes and categories to help display the data in different ways, which allows for broader and more complex sets of potential relationships to be explored and described.

The placing of the data in a digital repository is one in which both the original and transformed versions of the data can be accessed. This is attractive but at the same time problematic as the choice of which material to display is dependent on a number of factors. With advances in technology this has become more complex as methods of data sorting, reduction and display have increased in range and number. Bazeley (2007, p8) highlights this as a fear of “the dominance of code and retrieve methods to the exclusion of other analytic activities”. The positioning of the data also reduces everything to a digital dimension. This produces an interesting challenge in visual data in particular. As stated earlier coding of interview data is often subject to in-vivo coding (Glaser and Straus 1967; Charmaz 2006; Saldana 2009), this use of informants’ words is seen to be a stronger interpretation because they emanate from the ‘subject’. However with visual material which can also be subject to coding the method of coding is wholly interpretative. I will illustrate this with material from my research below.

5.1.3 FIELD EXAMPLE

This example draws on photo elicitation, informants were asked to take photographs of places where they reflect, both at home and in the workplace. Informants were then interviewed about these and some of the transcribed text is displayed below.

Denise, a learning mentor from a West Yorkshire primary Catholic school produced ten photographs of various locations. The interview data and the images were

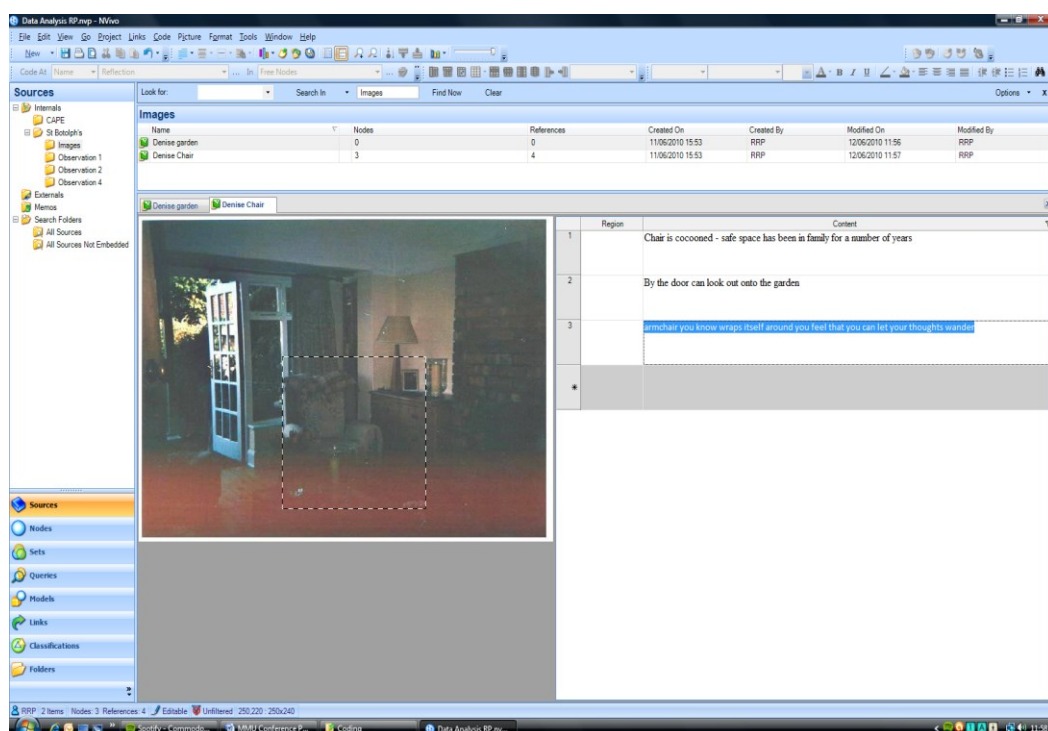


Fig 5a

The

coded using NVIVO⁴⁵. This is typed into the interface using a vector location, see the diagram below (5b) and allows the researcher to ability to attach comments for coding. This instance does not draw on visual analysis in which the researcher extracts and interprets the elements in the picture, rather using the interview extract, which is more acceptable in IE.

⁴⁵It was not possible to place them in situ in a word document, they had to be coded separately as image files Nvivo does not allow for the coding of images directly – text has to be generated and then this can be coded.



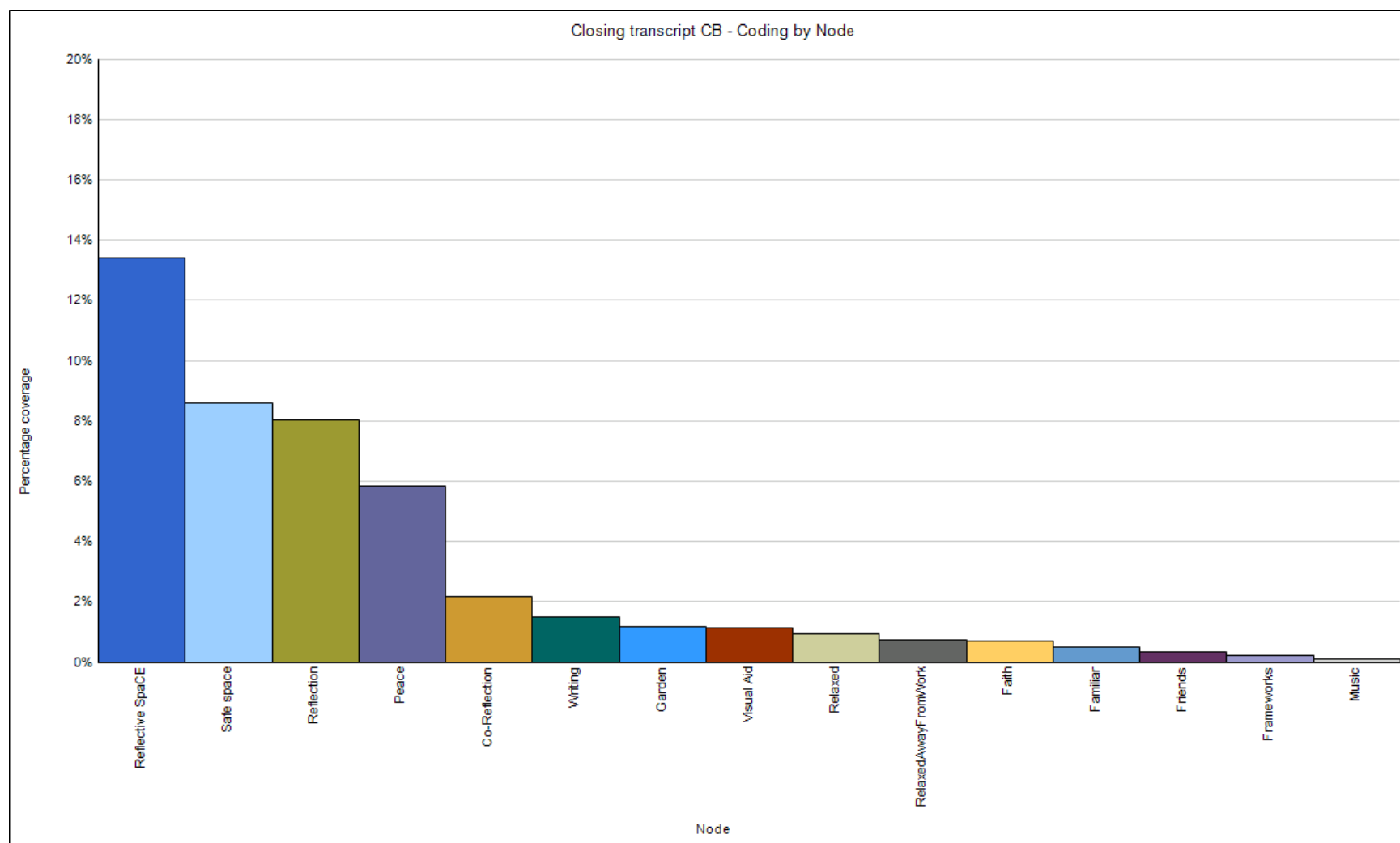
(Fig 5b)

Presently Denise's verbatim text from the interview (fig 5a), seem to indicate that reflection at home is a discursive process with an emphasis on calmness and safety⁴⁶. This social location at home also does not seem to allow Denise to draw on any other sources of information, thus the capacity to bring external information to the 'reflection' process. She cites the proximity of her husband, friends and wider family in interview. This appears to be a space where 'reflection-on-action' may take place, however the social space is one which places an emphasis on personal rather than professional history and location. She discusses how the chair in the picture has been in the family for some time. In this exercise Denise was asked to take her own photographs and if she sees reflection is a critical process, her comment in interview "*I think that's a big element of why you said before do people want to undertake reflective practice 'cos I think there is a risk in it'*". This suggests that thinking through the implications can only be carried out where she feels she has control and echoes Issit's point about reflection having 'dangers' (2003). While

⁴⁶ The complexity of the hermeneutic process is not discussed here. There are certainly many different methods to interpret the text that are associated with images. This example is being used to illustrate how both the interview material and the image are used to generate codes, those from the text are in-vivo whilst there is need for interpretation in relation to the image, before it may be coded for analysis.

authors on reflection discuss how it is important to carry out focused reflection which draws on relevant material for Denise there is an emphasis on control, safety and discursive thought, not informed by other material “*because the armchair you know wraps itself around you feel that you can let your thoughts wander*”.

There is a difficulty here in coding visual data alone. Without supplementary interviews the image of the armchair on its own would present a challenge. I felt that it was important that the photograph was taken by Denise, as this allowed her to control what was represented and also, some of her thoughts would be about why she selected particular areas to photograph. The focus on coding and entering the data enables the researcher to break down and extract tables and charts. of the responses these are reproduced below. In coding the data from the interview initially 15 nodes (open codes), were created with 78 instances, at this stage and due to my lack of certainty about the process I wanted to code the data more generally. It is possible to examine the instances and to focus on those coding which are more prevalent. However, doubts entered my mind over what the effect would be on my final narrative. I did not feel the need to only highlight the most common instances, yet the use of CAQDAS encourages this process



(Fig 5c) Denise Transcript Coding by Node

In brief what is being applied here is content analysis, whilst this is a single instance of a photo, supported with the text from a ninety-minute interview, this is an enumerative method (Goetz and LeCompte 1982). The photo contains much material that draws on the interview for interpretation. The coding process however generates only small amounts of numerical data in contrast with the observations, other interviews amid the corpus of the overall data. This forces different elements to 'compete' with each other. I would argue that using coding, demonstrates problems with enumerative methods. The use of the interface enables the researcher to generate additional text themselves for memos, which is essentially interpretive. In addition, the photograph itself, is not coded but the text that is generated can be. Due to the algorithms used, the 'percentages' given in the data above depend on the volume of the text highlighted when creating a code. By coding and then writing memos with further coding of these it is quite likely that a skew will take place in elements that the researcher declares to be of interest. This identifies a deficiency of using CAQDAS as it is a numerical means of analysis, the interpretation, will draw attention to elements that have been fore-grounded by the researcher and is further highlighted below.

5.1.4 VISUAL /TEXTUAL DATA – CODING, THE DIFFERENCES

I will firstly briefly examine some theoretical positions on textual analysis and coding. Tesch (1990) suggests that analysis of data focuses either on the 'linguistic' tradition or 'the sociological'. The linguistic, for example, discourse analysis/narrative analysis, are elements I would suggest that are not so easy to code as they rely on discursive thinking/writing whereas 'sociological' work mines the data for concept generation, as in the above example.

Looking at the 'sociological tradition' Ryan and Bernard suggest that (2000, p769) there are two kinds of written texts: (a) words or phrases generated by techniques for systematic elicitation eg interviews and (b) free-flowing texts, such as narratives, discourse, and responses to open-ended interview'

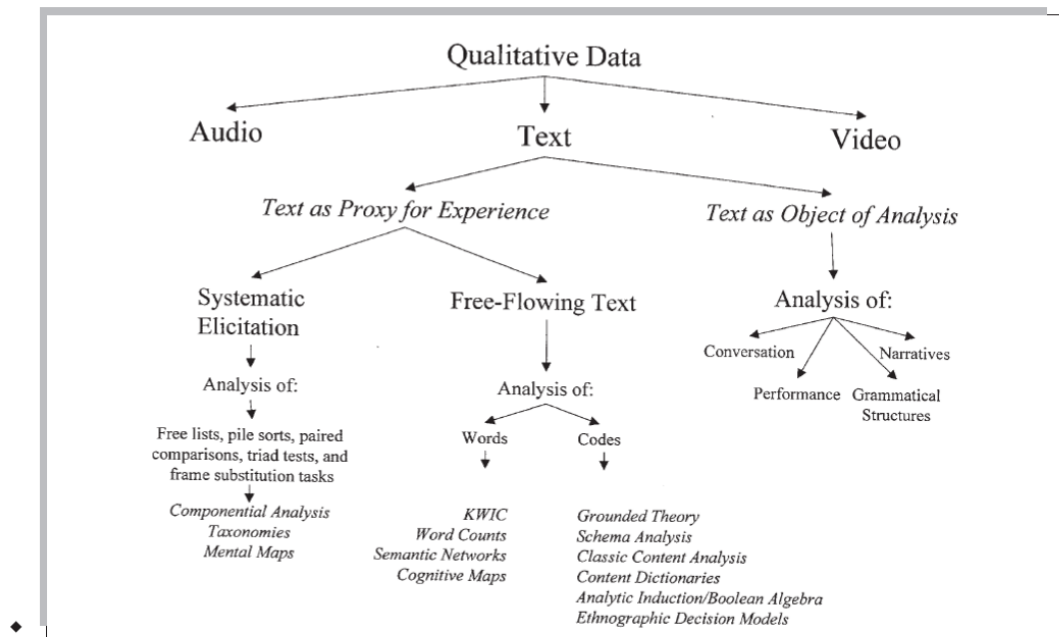


Figure 29.1. Typology of Qualitative Analysis Techniques

(Fig 5d)

They offer a number of ways of using codes to help the analysis and this can be applied via Grounded Theory, Schema Analysis etc. Text generated ‘as a proxy for experience’ then comes via two sources.

- a) From interviews etc - data generated by the interviewer
- b) From data which appears naturally or in-situ, e.g. forms

In this study, a wide variety of visual data has also been collated, for this project – posters, classroom settings, photos of notice-boards for example and also subject-generated photographs supplemented by interviews. This visual data too is generated by interaction with the subject via interviews and photo elicitation, observational recording, there is also ‘found’ data from the environment of the organisation. Photo-elicited material as a ‘proxy for the experience’ seems to reside in category ‘a’ and therefore follows Ryan and Bernard’s methods of following the ‘sociological tradition’, though the technology may be different.

The highlighting of concepts as within the bar chart above (fig5c) within NVIVO depends on word counts, a form of content analysis. “Content Analysis is in practice often combined with qualitative thematic analysis to produce a broadly interpretive approach in which quotations as well as numerical counts are used to summarise important facets of the raw materials analysed” (Seale 2005, p506). It is possible to

use content analysis in looking at textual data and this approach will highlight frequency of usage of terms, however, of itself this only opens up the data. There is still much work to be done on asking why particular terms are used. Whilst Seale (2005) argues this is ‘broadly interpretive’, the extent of this usage seems limiting. This is particularly tricky in the case of visual data, as within this particular package, while areas can be ‘coded’, they still have to be described but given that visual material needs interpretation to a greater degree than verbal data might, in order to form nodes for coding. Then the ‘sociological’ approach can only form a mere entry into visual data and is at risk of being weighted towards the researchers’ interests, undermining the ‘rigour’ of this approach. This suggests that the ‘linguistic’ tradition has to be used to help code the data, ie the basis is interpretative.

This tension in analysis of visual images within realist approaches as Pink (2007,p95) puts it “assumed that the object of analysis would be the image itself or the content”, this singular approach is critiqued by Pink as this excludes contextual information provided by informants and it also suggested that one particular reading of the data is available. However, elements in the production may privilege particular standpoints and this should offer opportunities for critique. For Pink (2007, p99) “‘Scientific’ approaches to social research informed (like ‘realist’ approaches to documentary photography) by a notion of visual truth, tend to categorise and interpret images in terms of their content and chronology”. She argues against a singular ‘visual truth’, rather a researcher should explore multiple standpoints. So while visual data can be processed using NVIVO, the analysis must also draw more clearly on interpretive methods.

5.1.5 MINDING THE Qs

The literature on visual analysis while growing of late still has much more grounding to be done as it is an emerging field and will continue to develop as tools for analysis are invented. Its coverage is presently limited and the above illustration seems to show that presently the use of coding results in quantitative methods being applied. Having looked briefly at an example of the visual data, the question emerges what takes place in carrying out qualitative data analysis, and requires greater clarity whether the process is one of *qualitative* analysis of qualitative data

or *quantitative* analysis of qualitative data. If the latter, then we are perhaps guilty of '*quantitising*' the data. In music technology, a similar term, '*quantising*' of notes is routinely now carried out to 'correct' recordings. In music, recordings, prior to the 90s were accepted as being 'out of step', the advent of digital technology can result in a 'perfect' recording which is absolutely on time and can now even be altered for 'pitch'.

In music 'quantising' creates technically proficient work for some this results in a sterility and in fact detracts from the original performances. Similarly, in research for many qualitative researchers the process of '*quantitising*', (Tashakkori and Teddlie 2003; Nagy et al 2006) is seen as an alien concept and in terms of the 'data transformation' (Wolcott 1994) process, may bring to the fore aspects which might not emerge in other methods by flattening the data. This too is a feature of a grounded theory approach as saturation leads to highlighting of predominant themes.

Qualitative data is rich and offers much opportunity, particularly to examine how values come to the fore in daily action but may be hidden. In contrast, the use of 'quantitative' techniques may draw attention as in this example to notions of 'safety', other more subtle aspects about why this is the case and the use of the photo offers interesting insight into this and opportunities to look for irregularities or unusual events. Critical ethnographers use qualitative methods to bring attention to bear on inequality and power that are missed by quantitative approaches. In quantitative research, specifying the methods early on is a means by which to attain validity and is considered essential. However being able to move the parameters of a study is an asset of qualitative research, raising important questions about how the logic of inquiry takes place. I will turn briefly to the work of Bent Flyvbjerg, who champions case study (2001, 2007). There are multiple ways analysing data, Wolcott (1994, p27), for example specifies over fifty of ways of carrying out analysis.

Whilst Durkheim and Comte, the 'fathers' of sociology, allied their understanding of social science to natural scientific method, the 'mothers' such as Dorothy Smith and her earlier counterparts tracing their lineage from Wollstonecraft (1994) onwards, preferred to look at alternative ways of knowing. The work of Flyvbjerg (2002) raises questions about how social sciences have become positioned in opposition to

and are minor relatives of the natural sciences. The placement on technical rationality has come at the expense of value rationality and in particular, Flyvbjerg argues for a revival of an understanding of 'phronesis', developed by Aristotle. This repositioning considers not just how 'well' a system works, for example within education the achievement discourses which dominate Western education systems have been criticised for being overtly focused on examination and outputs. Which Foskett and Hemsley-Brown (2001, p61) see as a consequence of narrow market-place reforms in schools. Flyvbjerg's work would infer that a reassessment needs to take place about the value of the education systems and to also examine its benefits.

In response to the paradigm wars (Sparkes 1992), Flyvbjerg (2002) cites the differences between value instrumentality and instrumental rationality from Livingstone (1956). The latter has led to a focus on practitioners becoming seen as tools to become more efficient, accountable to systems of monitoring and less inclined to being offered meaningful dialogue about values that underpin the work. This is a consequence of what Flyvbjerg deems the Rationalist turn (2002, p53). Thus, it is essential for qualitative researchers to examine questions of power within their research, how this is manifested. This will however vary and is dependent upon the communication of institutional discourses and their use of speech or 'texts'. Thus the drive for 'standards and efficiency' in education has displaced education for liberation or self-advancement (Whitty et al 1998). The historical critical tradition of writers such as (Freire 1978; Giroux 1981; hooks 1981; Apple 2004) places an emphasis not just on knowing 'facts' but also the relationship that they have to 'reality'.

Brewer (2008) discusses how the social sciences are in some way in thrall to the physical sciences. If social science wishes to be taken seriously then it is seen to be necessary to pay slavish attention to method. (Brewer 2008). Janesick (2000) refers to this as 'methodolatory' in which this attention to detail prevents the story arising. For Brewer the focus within the literature has moved from 'method' i.e. procedures and 'cook-books' to one of 'methodology' which focuses overtly on theories of knowledge and the construction of social reality.

In this chapter, I strove to draw upon visual methods, (Pink 2001; Prosser 1998; Rose 2003). to provide different entry points to the setting. I was at the outset not

clear whether visual methods ‘fitted’ into IE but the promise that they offered made me feel that it was important to add this to the canon of methods available for data collection. The use of photo-voice has brought additional ways of eliciting rich data with informants but the shows that the interpretive process using NVIVO is not well-defined. Uncritical application appears to lead to the unwitting use of enumerative selection of evidence, missing the nuances that exist in the corpus of the data.

In IE theory is not ‘built’ but rather the ‘researcher seeks to explicate how the categories of social theory work, in concert with related institutional processes’ (DeVault and McCoy 2006, p44). The task is to search for ‘traces of how the participants’ actions and talk are conditioned’ (Campbell 2006, p94). This is essentially an interpretive exercise and of necessity focuses on the material and in everyday experience. The material may be transcripts of interviews, observational recording or forms used in the workplace. The latter are labelled as ‘texts’ in IE and the process should be seen as a broad one which seeks to ‘map out complex institutional chains of action’ or ‘to describe the mechanics of text-based forms’ (DeVault and McCoy 2006, p39).

The above discussion has detailed how unquestioning use of NVIVO whilst producing a veneer of ‘scientific’ method, given more detailed probing of the techniques used, demonstrates serious flaws with mechanistic approaches. This raises epistemological and ontological concerns that will be detailed in the discussion chapter eight. The technological challenge of data reduction needs a more sophisticated and holistic process. While the use of NVIVO can metaphorically draw attention to peaks, the use of coding and notes skews this and neglects the hollows, troughs and streams that are also a feature of the mountain. There is a need to explain how these features too have become formed in relation to each other and this chapter will proceed to examine how arts-based methods offers alternative ways of reading the data. Section 5.3 will critique the use of visual data in providing an analysis of how the informants make use of ‘reflective spaces’.

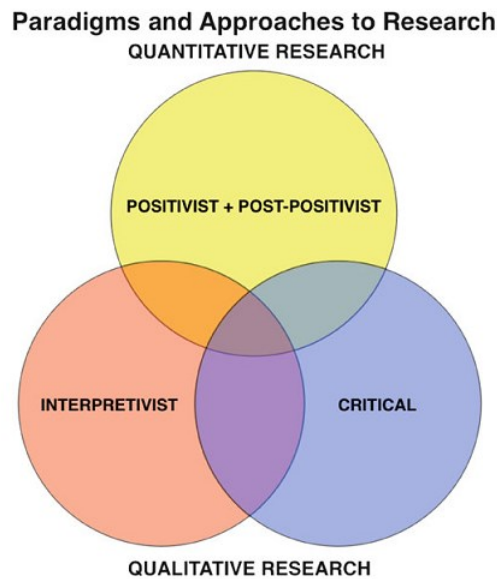
5.2 VALIDATING THE VISUAL

The first section outlined problems in placing too much emphasis on unquestioning application of computer analysis. While the visual has much to offer and has seen an appreciation of its capabilities there has been little discussion of validity an essential concept in research. It is necessary to address this here and of particular interest is how ideal concepts such as puzzlement and shock may be examined in research.

There are multiple ways of defining validity dependent on the paradigms that are applied and how this context dictates the way we operate as researchers.

“Four major paradigms (positivist and post-positivist, constructivist, critical and three major perspectives (feminist, ethnic models, cultural studies) now structure qualitative writing. The stories qualitative researchers tell one another come from one of these paradigms and perspectives” (Denzin and Lincoln 2009, p89)

The focus also separates into internal and external validity with the latter often involving transferability, which is not a key aim of this study. The focus in a qualitative thesis is often on internal validity, particularly in looking at causality, which for interpretive researchers is much contested, with some authors dismissive of the concept. Lather aimed to shatter the “masks of methodology” (1993, p675) built on earlier work to loosen the “epistemological guarantee” (ibid.) of validity which aimed for certainty and truth to move from ‘prescriptive’ to more situated forms. Whittemore et al (2001) provide a useful schema for looking at this which has been reproduced below. Different paradigms place weight on validity differently. It can be seen as an import from positivistic research where the importance of accuracy is much more important and where causal relationships are a key goal of research. Most common here is the examination of constructs in research and a breaking down of the tools used to gather research material. Testing the components and analysing their value is usual. However, varying paradigms are not entirely separate and as Cooper and White show in the following diagram have significant overlaps.



(Fig 5e)(Cooper and White 2012, p17)

In qualitative research given the plethora of methods, this becomes evident. “The purposes and methods of each qualitative study dictate, to a considerable degree, the type of validity that is sought” (Given 2008, p909) and this has resulted in a variety of alternative related terms being used “goodness” or “soundness” (Guba and Lincoln 1984) trustworthiness (Eisner 1991) , credibility (O’Leary 2004). Both Mishler (1990) and Maxwell (1992) posit ‘understanding’ as being more important in qualitative research. Struggling with these terms and with Willis (2007), adding ‘believability’ to the canon, presents real challenges. This latter term having religious connotations, suggesting in some instances requiring the suspension of ‘beliefs’ via superstition and myth. Popularly however, belief implies that individuals understand the basis of truth claims and can see how these may be actualised. This seems borne out by Hammersley (1992, p50) who suggests that qualitative researchers should look for “confidence” rather than “certainty”.

Triangulation often is seen as a solution but in IE this has complexities (section 4.4).Bogdan and Biklen (2007 p104) suggests that it is more productive to describe and critique differing methods of data collection. Willis (2007, p220) states, that “*there is not necessarily a need to try to eliminate **all but one** true reality of your study’s conclusions*” (my emphasis). It is necessary to work with multiple realities for a qualitative researcher. While validity is primarily concerned with notions of truthfulness Whittemore et al also suggest that of importance are secondary order

criteria including “explicitness, vividness, creativity, thoroughness, congruence and sensitivity” (2001, p531). Thus, the methods used to elicit material need to meet these criteria also.

The use of visual methods (Prosser 1998; Banks 2001; Rose2006; Pink2007) presents a challenge in relation to validity. The norm in terms of validity in qualitative research involves examining the questions used in interviews to see whether linguistic interpretations co-ordinate with the research questions. In this study visual methods were used in an exploratory way. Cameras were provided for informants and they were asked to capture spaces that they found conducive to reflection. These photographs were then discussed further to stimulate responses. Rather than depending on pure descriptions of experience of reflection this enabled informants to describe their relationship to the spaces. This fitted best with questions 6 and 7,

6. To what extent do they draw on notions of reflective practice to support their response?

7. How do they construct the notion of reflective practice, and what are the key influences on these constructs?

providing very detailed data that is put to good effect in chapters six and seven. Given the research questions about shock and puzzlement it would be difficult to measure or even judge whether these have taken place. In this way informant generated images demonstrates the benefits of a creative approach (Butler-Kisber 2010) with possibilities of synthesising research methods. The autonomy provided to the informant allowed greater access to their social world and via their narration of spaces of their choosing, ceded more control as they related their stories and provided more details of the emotions and feelings attached in order to produce an emic perspective. This fits best within an interpretive paradigm and allowed extremely rich data to emerge from the interview. Rather than interpreting the images directly as might be done in a more ‘arts-based’ approach the photographs were complemented with interviews to allow voicing about the sites of reflection by the informants. As opposed to asking directly about shock and puzzlement, this provided entry to the emotions and feelings that surrounded the informants as they carried out their reflective thinking. This accords with Whittemore, Chase and

Mandle's first two primary criteria. (see table). With regard to the third critical appraisal, the use of coding which I dismissed as being unsuited to this project, earlier in the chapter, would provide evidence of a systematic approach. However, systematic does not necessary mean valid, this criterion seems to suggest that the application of a process will enable findings to emerge that are repeated or show up in patterns. Neither do some simplistic presentations of voice as used by some feminist researchers, critiqued by Mazzei and Jackson, produce 'authentic' accounts.

"Letting readers 'hear' participant voices and presenting their 'exact words' as if they are transparent is a move that fails to consider how as researchers we are already shaping those 'exact words' through the unequal relationships present by our own research agendas and timelines" (2009 , p 2)

In relation to this research while in both sites the use of reflection seems to be cathartic (See chapter 6 and 7), this is present in the case studies but may not be at a different site. However, the use of the spaces for both Tasneem and Denise as 'escapes', accords with the notion of reflection as a means of stepping aside from day-to-day material concerns and to move into a more discursive mode. In which rather than patterns we are seeking evidence of the disruptions generated by shock and puzzlement that will be seen in chapters 6 and 7 and to elicit qualitative data about them. The use of the listening guide (See section 5.3 in this chapter) as a means of discerning the power relations provide evidence critical appraisal and provides a method of uncovering hidden consciousness, which is more pertinent for this thesis.

TABLE 3: Assessment of Primary and Secondary Criteria of Validity

<i>Criteria</i>	<i>Assessment</i>
Primary criteria	
Credibility	Do the results of the research reflect the experience of participants or the context in a believable way?
Authenticity	Does a representation of the emic perspective exhibit awareness to the subtle differences in the voices of all participants?
Criticality	Does the research process demonstrate evidence of critical appraisal?
Integrity	Does the research reflect recursive and repetitive checks of validity as well as a humble presentation of findings?
Secondary criteria	
Explicitness	Have methodological decisions, interpretations, and investigator biases been addressed?
Vividness	Have thick and faithful descriptions been portrayed with artfulness and clarity?
Creativity	Have imaginative ways of organizing, presenting, and analyzing data been incorporated?
Thoroughness	Do the findings convincingly address the questions posed through completeness and saturation?
Congruence	Are the process and the findings congruent? Do all the themes fit together? Do findings fit into a context outside the study situation?
Sensitivity	Has the investigation been implemented in ways that are sensitive to the nature of human, cultural, and social contexts?

(Fig 5f)(Whittemore, Chase and Mandle 2001, p534)

Bishop (2005) sees validity as being a modernist concern which aspires to ‘certainty’. The use of the visual has certainly produced an authentic account of the material situations which are conducive to reflection and this has produced a deep exploration of the emotions which the informants experience when they feel that they are reflecting. These accounts, combined with an analysis of the first-person using the ‘listening guide’ (Walby 2012) , has provided access to the power relations in the setting. Not just between managers and the informants as with Tasneem’s situation but also in relation to the co-workers when we saw how Denise was keen to ‘build-up’ the learning mentors and for both the informants feelings about the material situations of the children that they worked with (section 6.1.2). This has allowed this thesis to address issues related to the secondary criteria.

In relation to emancipatory research, such as those related to race, very often accounts and voices are hidden. It was necessary to develop a close relationship with the informants, which for some writers threatens or taints the data. This can however be overplayed “Much qualitative research has also maintained a colonizing

discourse of the "other" by seeking to hide the researcher/writer under a veil of neutrality" (Bishop 2005, p129). A key aspect of this thesis is how to map institutions which involves working with peoples' feelings and emotions about the practices that they are being asked to carry out. This of course is going to incur a high level of subjectivity. Whilst there is often antipathy to set institutional practices in many organisations, the degree to which individuals carry them out and 'own' them is going to be a useful variable to examine. A close relationship is necessary in order for informants to give access to their 'authentic' accounts. It offers a deeper interpretive possibilities, as for example the largely positive evaluation of the learning mentor training by Erika (section 6.2.5), seems to come from the supportive functions of the advisory team rather than the execution of the training, which was unfocused and foregrounded elements that were important for the institution. This seemingly produced a 'ritualistic' training, rather than one that met the needs and expectations of the support staff.

Whilst some qualitative techniques aim to 'measure' attitudes, the research questions related to 6 and 7 are exploratory and thus the goal here is to move to an accurate portrayal of the informants' meanings providing interpretive validity (Altheide and Johnson 1994).

While the opening quote in this section, suggests in some ways that the use of particular perspectives dictate the writing, this intimates the possibilities of a mechanistic process of analysis that has certainly not been the case. Qualitative research has over time become seen since then as having "fragmented" (Denzin and Lincoln 2005) (See also section 4.2.2.), producing much more difficult choices. While value has been placed on consistency in research any examination of culture currently needs to develop new tools to provide access as new practices emerge. Therefore, it becomes necessary to pay attention to the nuances of informant interactions and speech. In this thesis the use of visual data triggered access to spaces that would have hitherto remained unexplored, such as personal spaces at home and hidden areas in schools revealing important data about shocks and puzzlement. This has given access to subtle data which have provided fresh accounts of how reflection although presented as a panacea for transformation action is actually something more of a 'sedative'.

5.3 TURNING TELLING INTO KNOWING

5.3.1 INTRODUCTION

The first part of this chapter outlined some of the problems of using NVIVO and how while the software provides a supposedly distanced and objective stance, as the data becomes classified and enumerated, the reality is a little more complex. Writers on narrative inquiry such as Pinnegar and Daynes (2007, p15) are critical of crude positivist claims as this leads to a loss of the “nuances of experience and relationship” that “allows the researcher to foreground the relationship between social structures and individual agency” (Anderson 1989). The latter is particularly important in IE as it seeks to map social relations (Campbell and Gregor 2002). A central concern of this thesis is how reflective practice may be applied to issues of difference. Smith sees the

“emphasis is always on research as discovery rather than, say, the testing of hypotheses or the explication of theory as analysis of the empirical.” (2005, p2)

Arguably, all data requires narration, statistical and graphical data whilst presented as being objective still require interpretation and contextualisation. Construction and the relation of narratives in research present deep methodological problems. This section will detail some of the development of social research, with regard to narrative. It will highlight the benefits of using qualitative research, in particular how institutional ethnographic approaches can be used to examine the research questions attached to this thesis. It will detail some of the methodological problems in developing narrative as a method of data analysis, and highlight how the use of a creative hermeneutic device from Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis(IPA)⁴⁷ allows the researcher entry to the data to probe how a key informant strives to retain her own sense of identity and the institutional impacts upon her. This is influenced by Bakhtin (1981, 1986) and Smith (2005) to help examine how heteroglossia arise in work situations and how their study reveals conflicts.

⁴⁷ See (Smith 1996; Smith et al 1997)

5.3.2 NARRATIVE ANALYSIS IN SOCIAL RESEARCH COMPLETING THE CIRCLE

Narrative analysis (Polkinghorne 1987; Lawler 2002; Lieblich et al 1998; Clandinin and Connelly 2007; Riessman 2008), although recently revived and dubbed the narrative turn (Polkinghorne 1987; Nash 1990; Kreiswirth 1995; Atkinson 1997; Bathmaker and Harnett 2010) has been present as a means of explaining behaviour since time immemorial. Its presence in Greek philosophy and its usage was ubiquitous (Elliot 2005). The onset of the enlightenment moved to ground narrative explanations in scientific 'reality' focusing on causal relationships and influenced by logical positivism (Henn et al 2006, p12). Given that the dominant sources of knowledge prior to the Enlightenment were superstition, religious beliefs and tradition, this was a progressive step, leading to the ascendancy of the "hypothetico-deductive" method (Babbie 2001, p53), which began to shape, notions of democracy, truth and certainty, critiqued later by Popper (1959, 2002). Early positivist social research led to the demise of narrative, moving the focus from an exploration to explanation and to the subjugation of narrative, repositioning it as Lawler says as "the 'epistemological other' of sociology" (2002, p244). Leading to its 'disavowal' depicting it as a "merely a representation". For Bruner however (1990) the elicitation of causal stories from chaotic experiences enables the making of sense. Early social research was thus concerned and perhaps hampered with keeping pace with and emulating the physical sciences resulting in work that was often of an ideal nature endeavouring to generate 'laws' of human behaviour, even though the methods were not well founded.

Responses from social researchers have therefore led to the re-invigoration of narrative. The narrative turn has brought the circle back to old but also new ways of telling. Pinnegar and Daynes (2007) see this as being constituted around a number of themes including

- The relationship between the researcher and the researched
- From numbers to words as data
- From the general to the particular
- Blurring knowing

In particular, the last theme is a product of post-modernity in which narratives are contained in the everyday from television to film to video games, even advertising icons contain complex narratives. Webster and Mertova, advocates of narrative inquiry observe that, “quantitative methods tend not to have the scope to deal with complex human-centred issues” (2007, p3)

Foucault’s notion of the panopticon (1977) enables subjects to be controlled through surveillance, both by external forces but also about how internal motivations have become subjectified. The discovery of these however cannot wholly driven by fieldwork “Given its emphasis on how work in organisations coordinates everyday experiences, data analysis in IE cannot focus simply on individual standpoint”. (Walby 2012, p2).

The analytic task of IE is to “locate individuals and their experience within a complex institutional field” (McCoy 2006, p113). This is no mean task and thus the institutional ethnographer seeks to relate and offer working explanations of the mechanisms surrounding the individual. The traditional method in IE is analysing interviews and texts in order to generate material. Texts may be ‘forms’ or they can be material practices. This dovetails well with the narrative turn as a method of reflecting the complexity of the interrelationships and the power relations.

5.3.3 WEAVING NARRATIVES

The initial stage of fieldwork involves collecting data, sensory information and turning them into recordings. It solidifies while we elicit material from informants as they relate their stories and perform actions with the ultimate goal of the researcher being to re-tell the narrative to produce an ‘analytic’ account. A paradox present here is that the act of telling suggests there is already some knowledge present, to be able to relate suppositions and claims have to be made about events. In research, this is informed by the senses, listening, watching, smelling, touching and tasting. Audio can be recorded, to produce a verbatim account but there are other nuances such as what does a research environment taste or smell like? This seems a banal question but we are not able to capture any situation entirely and thus telling, the relating is always partial. Secondly, the telling depends upon how we record events at the time,

perhaps in-situ or to be recalled, possibly to be embellished at a later time, as an account is produced for analysis. There is a tension here in trying to preserve the informants' voices as multiple data are collected but is dependent upon senses, memory and interpretations of recordings. The process of analysis is one which transforms the data and how the 'told' and the 'witnessed' becomes the 'known' is the main goal of this process. This will be more than just description, for Pole and Morrison they are:

“concerned not with presenting a distanced, scientific and objective account of the social world, ...Our intention is to place ethnography within a theoretical tradition which places a primacy on the importance of situated meaning and contextualized experience as the basis for explaining and understanding social behaviour, which...does not eschew the importance of structure in ethnographic accounts of social action.” (Pole and Morrison 2003, p5)

This is a tall order and shows the problems that come with data capture in that they are never entirely synonymous with what took place within the fieldwork setting. This is true of **both** qualitative or quantitative methods of data elicitation and capture. The process however, of relating the stories in different ways forces the teller to examine and re-site the knowledge that is being presented. Thus an essential element of the narrative is the reflexive process by which elements are cited, interpreted and transformed.

“Telling stories allows us to reflect and reflect then reflect again, asking what it means to think to read, to write, to know.”(Ritchie and Ahlschwede 1993, p16)

The next section will illustrate how different elements of data are used to develop foci and to create a narrative. For qualitative researchers the question becomes not a singular interpretive act but one of “multiple practices” (2005 Denzin, p6), Geertz sees this as an inevitable “blurring of genres” (1993) and in which methodology is “inevitably interwoven with and emerges from the nature of particular disciplines and perspectives” (Guba and Lincoln 2005, p191).

In the context of the research methods used in this study, there is a strong need to locate the research in the domain of the informant. Having argued how positivist work has cast race in binary forms, it is necessary to assert how work around difference and race has become affected by current policy and its social and

historical circumstances. This cannot be related simply, therefore it becomes necessary to be open to different methods of interpreting the data.

5.3.4 DIALOGUES WITH POETRY

Drawing on IE there are two main areas in which data analysis takes place, described as data dialogues (Smith 2005; Walby 2012) the first is within the field with a variety of informants as detailed above and the second is that between the researcher and the transcripts and field notes. In IE “the trick of analysis” Walby (2012, p2), is the endeavour that “locates individuals and their experience within a complex institutional field” (McCoy, 2006, p113). Thus IE attempts to map the social, drawing on a foundation of informant-acquired knowledge and where possible to embed it within the daily local relations and talk of the institutions to map out flows of power. In this way for example, Griffith and Smith have looked at “mothering discourses” (1995). DeVault details how technology has created “New Economy” discourses (2008) which place the acquisition of new skills paramount as an modern individual imperative. The examination moves from the standpoint of the individual to examine how day-to-day practices connect to broader political and social forces.

Analysis however is not a singular act, especially when a wide range of data is utilised. Dey describes it as a process of breaking data down into bits and then “*beating*” (1993, p30) them together. Also important is depicting and understanding the context, which is of necessity a descriptive process. It is not possible to separate clearly which aspects involve, description, interpretation and analysis, it is better to take it as a process in which the data throws up meaning as the researcher selects and transforms (Wolcott 1994) different elements. This is of necessity a narrative process and is clearly subjective. Bearing in mind the research questions allows the researcher to shade and light different aspects of the research as touched on in the introduction. It becomes necessary to demonstrate a reflexivity in which the consequences of the illumination and shading of different elements are considered. A critique of ‘normal’ social science is the way in which it objectifies informants (Dean et al 1967; Arendt 1977; Wolcott 1995; Smith 1987,2005, 2006; Smyth and Williamson 2004). However, IE regards individuals “not as the object of analysis

but as an entry point into understanding organisational processes” (Walby 2012, p3). This is consistent with its linkages to ‘standpoint’ not just taking simplistic notions of ‘voice’ as being replicated by speech and physical acts but is keen to interpret how the context might impact on behaviour and thus is part of the analytic process and may be subject to heteroglossia (Bakhtin 1981, p301). The critique espoused by Smith and other proponents is how mainstream sociology ignores the everyday and imposes ideology upon the informant, often in language or practices via texts. Theory in IE arises from the interplay between the informant and texts.

As an emerging approach, the methodological literature on IE is weak. Two suggested methodological approaches (Walby 2012) are interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) from social psychology. This allows the “understanding of the first-person perspective from the third person position” (Larkin et al 2011, p321) or listening guides which “conceives of individual narratives as (being) socially shaped.” (Walby 2012, p2). The ‘listening guide’ approach draws on literary theory and social psychology as it moves to construct a narrative. The initial search is for a plot-line, followed by a characters, which are present in the data dialogues produced by the researcher and a reflexive analysis through careful reading enables these to emerge.

IE has a deep regard for the informant and is keen to begin with them as knowing subjects. One way to preserve this in a creative way is via the use of “I-poems” (Gilligan et al 2003; Balan 2005; Byrne et al 2009) a useful hermeneutic device to provide a way of examining and preserving the voice of the informant. In the case of Tasneem this allows for an examination of her experiences from the first-person and sections of the I-Poem are produced below.

The first interview with Tasneem contains a long segment where she details the conflicts between the Somali and South Asian children in her class leading onto the experience of a mixed-race child. The corresponding sequences in the I-poem as follows

If there is an odd number
I can guarantee you that it is a Somali girl
I don’t see any direct racism
how many more times can I sit there and talk about it

I err going back a couple of years now going
Miss Koliwala do I look **brown** enough
I just thought that oh
I **felt** for him **really**

Thus having provided a summary followed by the poem, using it as a hermeneutic device her awareness of the divide and her concerns for the effects on children are clear. There is a very compelling appeal here to explore and begin to theorise why the racial conflict between African and Indian/Pakistani children, is it cultural/religious etc.? The use of the poem strips down the experience into units. In the use of grounded theory there would be a need to code the material to look for patterns and arrive at the saturation point where we can see theory emerge. While not so convoluted the I-poem segment illustrates a clear concern and requires further perusal of the interview where Tasneem details how the school needed to add to its staff, personnel who had skills in working with Somali children. She felt that she had to point this out to senior management. Thus, describing and re-working descriptions leads to interpretation and an examination of how institutional practices play their part. For Tasneem her experience of being taken on when the school was primarily Indian/Pakistani had not been transferred to staffing complement when the composition of the intake changed.

This allows a number of conceivable plots for the informants, which can be taken further by the use of the I-poem, another sequence follows,

I think I need to go elsewhere
I have been here too long
I think you get taken for granted
I think you get you become part of the furniture

Looking more conventionally at the interviews and observations in Tasneem's case, this results in a narrative where she sees herself as a 'prisoner' in school seeking to escape the jail that she finds herself in. The interactions that take place between herself and her friendly colleagues allow her to get by and she still enjoys her work with children, however she feels she is being side-lined in school. A counterpoint is that her *becoming* a teacher has resulted in a distancing from her own community. She feels that she has moved herself away from her roots but she does not have a nostalgic view recognising that she has a role to play. She feels deflated in the example above when a mixed-race child is being bullied by the Indian and Pakistani

children and asks her “Miss Koliwala do I look brown enough”. Throughout Tasneem feels a strong sense of ‘social justice’ guiding her work she has taken joint responsibility for work around race in the school and has run training for the other staff.

Firstly there is a need to show how some of the claims drawing on the data that has been generated. In the first interview undertaken with Tasneem she states just after the first four minutes in response to an open question

“There’s a lot of new staff now (p). And I feel like it’s probably the right time to leave it’s **killing** me (p). ‘Cos I’m attached to this place (laughs) But ermm. you know it’s my passion but anything I that I (indistinct) I get strongly involved in. It it would be a good idea for me to detach myself as well ‘cos it is my community school (p), at the end of the day.”

Walby’s suggestion that that the second cycle of the listening guide examines the use of the first person and Tasneem’s emphasis on the word killing here seems to signify the exasperation that she feels. She draws attention to the connection that she feels she has as an Asian professional living in a more deprived area.

The next extract, is very important and illustrates her concern to make a difference around race.

“And the other thing about the children is that if somebody I err going back a couple of years now going back about eight years ago there was one little boy and he was mixed race. And er the whole class had a picture of the whole class at low level in the classroom and he was seven years old and he would sit cross-legged and he would look at the picture and look at this picture and one day. he asked me Miss Tasneem do I look **brown** enough. [ok] And I just thought that oh and I **felt** for him (p), **really**, felt for him because he wanted to be part of the rest of them and he **must** have been made to feel different (p).”

In both of the above there is little need to interpret the spoken data in that Tasneem makes her feelings clear. There is perhaps a need to show the emphases that she places in the last line where she says that “I *felt* for him (p) *really* felt for him”. By highlighting the two words although transcription as a means of interpretation is touched on (Wolcott 1994), the nuances of speech may become missed. There is a

need to use devices such as bold text and drawing attention to the pauses, the data in being transformed from verbal to text loses information and this is an attempt to replace the nuances. Listening to the data a number of times the concern that is expressed in Tasneem's voice is evident. This forms an entry point into some of the numerous story lines that are evident in any institution. However there is also the possibility here of researcher 'privilege'. Being of the same ethnicity as Tasneem (though not religion) she was expressing her concern to me about difference where often Muslim is used as a generic term but her experience demonstrated how the differing ethnicity between Indian and African Muslim was being played out in a school. It was at this point of the interview having detailed the problems of dealing with race that unexpectedly and unprompted Tasneem revealed to me her feeling of being an outsider in the dialogue below alternating with my interjections.

Yeah erm a-and (P). What else (P). And I don't **fit**, I think the thing is I don't fit into this community really. My community my needs I don't really fit into this institution to me and I don't really fit **Raj**. I don't really fit and I'm I am finding it that

Yeah

I never I have not sort of

*What do you mean by **the community***

I don't fit in the community, because I'm not part of the community I am.

Your parent's community?

I mean the parents this school the intake (P) the catchment area (P). The area in which I live, I don't fit into that community and I don't fit into.

What makes you feel that

(Laughs)

You don't have to tell me if it is personal but yeah.

(P) Well it is kind of personal in a way 'cos I mean culture is like (P). Culture is life journey, portions of your life isn't it how your own expectations of er your life journey. Your cultural erm expectations would be, you do this, you do this, you do that. You become a mother you become a (p) er a grandparent, you get married you know all those kind of things.

There's different stages, there's different stages.

You, you're.

And then you're perceived as something.

Yeah

Ok

Yeah so I don't fit into that.

Ok

So I don't fit into any categories there (p). And I don't particularly fit into any categories at this school and community (p).

Ok

And I don't think I fit in anywhere. Anywhere I go that's it

What is unclear here is what triggered this 'confession'. It was not expected and the questioning to this point was being carried out, in order to elicit more information about the school generally but became impossible to ignore, particularly given the length of the sequence and also in following encounters about how Tasneem has been made to feel different. Walby suggests, that using the listening guide approach

"brings one's talk about one's self to the fore, which can not only illuminate aspects of the story not visible when the narrative fragments remain part of the transcript but also help the researcher select narratives to work with" (2012, p6)

So at quite an early stage two pieces of a puzzle seem to emerge one in which Tasneem displays her concerns about racial tensions but unexpectedly although displaying a concern for social justice, the process seems to have changed Tasneem in a way that casts her as an outsider. These entry points provide a start for the plot but at this stage the endpoint is not clear. IE suggests that the focus on the problematic using the 'institutional talk' (Bakhtin 1986; Smith 2002) will allow an examination of factors that have brought about this situation.

It becomes necessary in the next step in narrative analysis to provide some characterisation of both Tasneem and other members of the institution. This can be crafted from the interventions that take place but may become a caricature for those who there is limited contact with, this need not be a problem, in any narrative some 'key' characters become fleshed out while other 'supporting' members may have simpler functions, in order to fulfil their role. This is done by examining some of the

‘contrapuntal’ voices, (Walby 2012, p6) the purpose is to weave these to demonstrate a narrative which is made up of a duality or even multiple threads. This will involve in an ethnography a discussion of the networks of the setting to provide a wider context. Ira Berlin’s work *The Making of African America: The Four Great Migrations* (2010) for example has been described as a having a ‘contrapuntal narrative’ that demonstrates how the movement of African-Americans contributed to its development. In American fiction, and until relevantly recently in both factual and fictional writing the impact of this has been ignored. The consideration of this develops a more powerful discussion of how the US has developed its economy and society to produce a more holistic picture. Thus in the data chapters the focus of research will be how other threads contribute to the informants’ feeling of exclusion/inclusion and of how reflection may or may not play a part in this process and the institutional practices which have contributed to this (DeVault and McCoy 2002)

The next step or as Walby names it the “fourth dimension of analysis” listens for how the narration of self, links up with broader discourses of class, gender, ethnicity, ability, age and sexuality”. Thus, the process of reading becomes a filtering process and also one of re-reading and re-interpreting. The notion of voice begins firstly with the informant via the use of the I-poem, this is then re-read for instances of contrapuntal voices. In this study the impact of difference in education and of how the organisation sees reflective practice are important elements to examine but other surprises may as yet emerge.

This section has detailed some of the problems of social science have emerged and how ‘normal’ science can suppress voices. It then provides examples of how methods may be used to foreground informants, to provide an entry point into the data. It details further some of the complexities of narrative inquiry in forming a work for presentation. It will always be possible to provide different narratives but the process of thesis attempts to keep the informants voice central to allow analytical choices from the data to emerge rather than impose them externally. In this instance the I-poem seems to be a powerful way of encapsulating elements which arise elsewhere in the data. Emerging from this are some of the wider themes that impact on Tasneem of identity which seem to impact on her sense of belonging, a theme highlighted in Chapter 2. The puzzle appears as she states

I don't particularly fit into any categories at this school and community (p).

Ok

And I don't think I fit in anywhere, anywhere I go that's it .

This is repeated throughout the extract above many times and opens up themes of gender and race within both the institution and personal life, allowing exploration of her professional formation. These are not enforced but have arisen as Tasneem herself, seeks to make sense of the position.

5.4 SUMMARY

This and the previous chapter have provided a detailed discussion of the ontological grounding and epistemological challenges of this thesis. It has outlined the rationale and the fit of institutional ethnography with an exposition of some of the background to this approach that is rare in the UK. IE is critical of foregrounding sociological theory and seeks to preserve informant voice and explicate social relations in the work place.

It has examined problems including the relationship between informants and the researcher; the validity of data using this approach and the use of appropriate methods to collect rich data that is sensitive to emotion and detailed associated ethical issues. It has examined critiques of ethnography and demonstrated the appropriateness of using qualitative interpretive research for this thesis.

It discusses the implications of a critical realist approach that draws on material events to provide an analysis. It has connected the complexities of examining race and reflective practice both which are contested concepts and are seen to be in flux with methods and analyses which can access rich data and produce narratives. It has discussed the use of visual data in critiquing the use of CAQDAS and how this leads to a predilection for grounded theory. This has led to the use of arts-based methods from the Listening Guide (Gilligan et al 2003) in order to provide more compelling narratives laying foundations that will emerge in the next two case-study chapters.

CHAPTER SIX

AN EMOTIONAL OCEAN A CASE STUDY OF DENISE A LEARNING MENTOR

6.1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter, the first case study introduces a key informant Denise, examines an example of shock/puzzlement in relation to ‘race’ work, and details her use of reflective spaces.

Drawing on IE, the process of moving to interpretation entails providing a heavy descriptive account to trace and map the power relations in the setting. These are not simple causal connections but are dependent on social, political and economic factors present in the setting. The previous chapter introduced the idea of the data dialogue that is used in IE (Campbell and Gregor 2002; DeVault and McCoy 2006; Smith 2005 pp135-139; Walby 2012). This is not a methodological technique, rather it is “guided by particular theoretical and methodological commitments” (Walby 2012, p1). It pays a heavy attention to the etic construction of work practices, to help uncover how this, “co-ordinates organisation of what happens in the setting in which the reading takes place and the multiple sites in which the same text is read, as well as the local settings of work connected in the ongoing process.” (Turner 2002, p4). This chapter draws on interviews, observations and visual images in order to delineate ethnographic ‘portraits’. A consideration of the emic tensions then enables these to be fleshed out. These elements have been gathered and draw on ethno-methodological processes (Campbell and Gregor 2002, p78) to explore local ‘ruling relations’ (Smith 1999, 2005, 2006; Rankin 2003; Walby 2007; Deveau 2008; Campbell 2010). This is then used to move to the etic practices extant in the setting but with informants’ experiences at the centre.

As it is not possible to examine all of the corpus of the data, the focus in these two chapters will provide an in-depth examination of how ‘shocks and puzzles’ related to race may impact on participants in order to examine the extent to which they

produce ‘Schönian’ reflection in order to build an empirical account. Key to IE is the centring of the informants’ problematics (Diamond 1992 ; Grahame 1998; Smith 1990, 1999, 2005, 2006; Walby 2012), building a ground-up examination of the extant social relations and to examine the contrapuntal narratives in the setting touched on in chapter five to critically examine how this contributes to the co-ordination of their work, through policy. This process uses the competing elements to construct the dialogue to move to interpretations and analysis of the setting. The first cycle presents very detailed accounts of the problematics of ‘shock and puzzlement’, followed by an examination of the process of reflection, drawing on visual data. This then moves to a more detailed critique of the traces of race and difference to tease out the ruling relations, mapping it to policy and theory to provide a critical analysis.

6.1.2 A PORTRAIT OF DENISE

One of the key aspects that emerged early on was the emphasis that Denise gave to emotion work in her day-to-day practice. She had made the following statements in her final interview with me

“I passionately believe that children have to have that emotional intelligence before they can do anything. They have to have that. And I think it is **crucial** to schools and I love being a part of it *OK* I love being a part of it because I think that children erm are such wonderful beings”

It **permeates** throughout **absolutely** every area in school. ⁴⁸”

Having been at St. Botolph's for nearly seven years, after working for the NHS, she trained as a children's nurse. Originally, she had undertaken a psychology degree following her A-levels and carried out health-related jobs for fifteen years, before moving into education. Coming across a mentoring position after being made redundant, as a result of ‘reorganisation’ from the NHS, she worked firstly in a special school for a year. These experiences seemed to show the importance of

⁴⁸The conventions that have been followed in this thesis when using text from interviews is as follows. Lower case (p) denotes a short pause. Upper case (P) indicates a long pause. Elements in bold are used where an emphasis has been placed on a word by the speaker

mental health and of the use of psychological theory for Denise. From time-to-time, she would refer to '*Freud*' or '*Maslow*'. Thus while she had an affinity with psychology, it was really developed in a medical rather than an education context, the latter being by dint of her own reading. She had been employed originally by Loxley LEA but was now solely employed by the school. In Denise's case, she felt that she had received much valued support, training and networking originally being funded from the Excellence in Cities (EIC) programme⁴⁹ for which she was full of praise

"it was a huge plank of government agenda I think actually getting mentors on board and it's been **amazingly** successful"

While the school had many other additional support staff, at least one in every class. In contrast to the more recently employed teaching assistants (TAs), Denise felt that she had had more training and support from the Local Education Authority (LEA) and the advisers. She attributed this to being on a full-time contract, which necessitated undertaking training while other support staff were either on leave or unpaid for the school holidays. There were some interesting power dynamics in the setting for instance, during staff pre-school meetings, while teachers sat on the armchairs which ran around three walls of a long rectangular staff room, the mentors would congregate on the table between the two doors, which formed a corridor across the head of the room, creating a more marginal presence. Denise always sat on an armchair with the teachers. The class and age divide also was evident at this meeting. Most of the TAs lived locally, often being parents of children in the school, whereas the teachers tended to be younger, many not yet thirty.

⁴⁹Excellence in Cities was introduced in 1999 as a key method of tackling disadvantage by the Labour government. It had a number of different strands (Kendall et al: 2005, p89). Set up following White Paper Excellence in Schools (Great Britain, 1997) it focused on attainment, behaviour and attitudes in schools. The learning mentors although facing initial opposition helped reduce disruption and "The pupils welcomed the Learning Mentors because they perceived them to be different from teachers in the time they had to offer and their availability, their more informal and relaxed approach, and their skills and knowledge" (Kendall et al 2005, p97). Thus LMs had time to form closer relationships than teachers, through enabling a listening approach.

6.1.3 EMOTION WORK AND DIFFERENCE.

Denise took her responsibilities for ‘emotion’ work seriously. This was supported by literature, she used Mosley’s work on ‘Golden Time’ (1996, 2005). Also placed prominently on her shelf was the DfES social and emotional aspects of learning (SEAL) guidance (2006b). Denise thus not only believed in Emotional Intelligence (EI) but clearly practiced it. At a session run for the school council for which she was responsible she carried out some ‘Cognitive Behavioural Therapy’ with some ‘difficult’ children, the ‘Friendship Group’. She explored their usage of language through an ‘*emotional ocean*’ exercise, where they used word association to describe their feelings, as a precursor to seeing how they might improve their behaviour in class. At lunch-times she provided sessions on meditation (she didn’t use that term but the description seems most apt) here, in the relaxation room which she



Fig 6a

helped to create with children and parents. Another time, she demonstrated a piece of software called EM Wave that uses a computer to help control breathing and pulse. She had demonstrated hand massage to me as well which she had used with parents.

Natalie the head, Denise told me was the ‘emotional literacy champion’ for the LEA and when I subsequently interviewed Natalie, I found her a very keen advocate who wanted to show that it was not purely a technique but had more holistic potential. Denise perhaps due to her psychology background, was extremely supportive of Natalie’s work and thus became an ally for her. Natalie felt there were wider ramifications for the staff that it would help them in their

“Decision-making er (p) and (P) just developing their own emotional intelligence about **themselves** (p). And then hopefully being able to apply that to the children in their class erm so (P), I

feel that some of the staff really lack confidence in their own kind of decision-making for the day-to-day basics.”

Natalie also arranged some after-school training for the staff team. I had attended one of the sessions where the trainer had focused on stress-management and used psychological models for staff to help provide some cognitive thinking about how to improve their performance. I found most of the staff appeared disinterested and showed signs of being tired and disengaged, however Denise had enthused about this to me, seeing it as a sign of the head’s support of her work.

She was also a mentor to Tina to one of the HLTAs (Higher Level Teaching Assistants) who was being assessed for her qualification and she also provided other training and support for the TAs. Denise had worked very hard on supporting draw up the ‘portfolio’ of evidence which Tina had struggled with but with encouragement, drawing on her ‘emotional connections’ to the material had developed into a presentable piece of work,

Therefore, Denise embodied an idea of ‘transformation’ using therapeutic means, it appeared she wanted to extend this to work on difference and was one of the reasons she volunteered for the study. Clearly supported by the school management, she played an active part in community cohesion work. Natalie’s trust in her is considerable as can be seen by the training role allocated to her. Her value was also clear, when Denise supported Natalie to speak to a parent about personal financial difficulties which prevented her from buying the recommended footwear for her children. They worked well together to offer support without making the mother feel guilty.

Later when I interviewed Natalie she suggested that Denise found it difficult to set the boundaries of her work

" I mean probably the danger that I have with Denise and my previous learning mentor is that (p) people see her as (p) the (P) solver of everything (p). And sometimes (p) I have to say to her you are allowed to say no, you have to say (p) that's your remit and I can't do that. Actually our responsibility is to pass that parent on to an adult service isn't it? And I think that is tricky for managers 'cos the boundary is always moving like. You've suddenly had the recent

development of schools taking more responsibility for the parents and allegedly being given you know it's going to be part of the TA role, that wasn't the case five years ago."

Thus the growth of the support staff for Natalie the head appear to be tapping into a range of issues that perhaps may not have surfaced previously. It also presents problems for managers about how to channel this work. However, the increasingly distributed management in schools (Christensen and Legreid 2001, 2007), a result of NPM, can contribute to the increased workload. Where staff feel obliged to carry out quite complex support work but while previously this may have become part of the work of external staff such as the educational welfare team, who had training, mechanisms and resources for this, as well as the personal supervision to reduce stress. It also suggests that the emotional work that Denise carries out with children and parents, can result in her acting as a buffer with possible consequences for her.

I had asked her why she was interested in community cohesion at my first meeting and she was keen to show me her commitment citing examples of the project work with ACT and also multicultural work with the LEA advisory team.

"So it gives me an opportunity to if you like erm. It's **different** to dealing with as you just said the crisis management or flash-points. It's to sit down and do some learning (p) and then bring that back into school. So it's like that erm you could if you wanted because (p), let's be honest there's a huge amount of work to do in schools with children who have emotional problems, problems (p). So you could spend all of your day doing that."

She seems therefore to see it as an extension of her work with emotion for which she is a keen proponent. When I tried to pin her down slightly more on race, she didn't feel that there were any issues at the school and I asked her about community cohesion if there were any problems and she was quite hesitant

"Sometimes when children come in straight off the playground they have to go straight into class (P). Erm you might not always **have** an opportunity though there to deal with something straight away erm (p). And then you will possibly look at it later on that's the only way I can think about that."

Thus her primary concern appeared to be the traumatic consequences and to ameliorate negative acts and behaviour. It seemed to link any incidents to a broader

discourse of ‘bullying’, this I learnt later fitted with the LEA policy which had placed their community cohesion work from ICOCO⁵⁰ (see later) as part of a general anti-bullying policy. I sensed a hesitation here and as this was my first meeting didn’t like the Coelho quote from Chapter 4 suggested want to look only for ‘gold’ and left this to be picked up later.

She was always measured, direct, clear and very professional. I never once saw her lose her composure and neither did she deal in any ‘gossip’ about other staff. Her office was filled with ‘therapeutic’ posters. Thus, a focus on communication and language was important, for her particularly around anger management. I was witness to this when an upset boy came in and after calming him down, she discussed his feelings using the images. One way that Denise expressed her feelings very visibly, was at school assemblies. She took great delight in praising the children as they came up from the floor to receive their medals and gifts, from the headteacher. This ritual never seemed to fail to please her, they seemed frequent out of seven days of observation there were three assemblies. The importance of emotion for Denise has clearly been established and her value to the school, which for quite a junior member of staff is substantial.

6.2. COMMUNITY COHESION OR COMMUNITY CONFUSION?

Having outlined Denise’s background this chapter sets out to examine, in relation to the research questions how the ‘shocks’ I have questioned in chapters two and three comes into play and how and if reflective practice might be utilised. This is achieved by using two key events that provided access to focused work on race and difference. Firstly at an event for governors on community cohesion and secondly a training day for the learning mentors. Denise had particularly been looking forward to the latter, as she was concerned with improving her skills in working around race.

⁵⁰ Institute for Community Cohesion, is a think tank established in 2005 by Ted Cattle to promote interculturalism (Cattle:2005). It particularly put much store in the development of Standards on community cohesion (Home Office: 2004) developed from Cattle (2001) which outlined the need for schools to be involved in - closing attainment gaps; development of common values of citizenship; building of good community relations; and the removal of barriers to access. These were developed jointly with the Home Office, the DfES and the CRE, it linked these to the RRA (2000).

Given the responsibilities she has for race work she had played a major role in developing the ‘community cohesion development action plan’, the head had released her to attend the ACT training amongst other initiatives.

6.2.1 WHAT ARE THE PRACTICALITIES? TRAINING AND SUPPORTING STAFF IN COMMUNITY COHESION

It is firstly useful to briefly examine Denise’s more general involvement in training. When I interviewed her for the first time Denise had declared that she was worried about dealing with the ‘practicalities’ of race. At a training event run by ACT, she had assiduously prepared a file ready for the event, with criteria for measuring outcomes. Later on, she recalled,

“I do other things like the **project** the community **cohesion**, that's part of it (p). And that actually has a benefit for **us because** the stuff that you do on **that** course that we learn on that course, you bring that back into school and hopefully that'll become an integral part of our school.”

In this way, Denise’s desire to attend the training for the learning mentors fitted well with her wish to work on the problematic of how to deal with race and she had pinned her hopes on training that was being run for the learning mentors. She genuinely wanted to develop a whole-school approach and had been given a training role in the school on community cohesion and to support the TAs, some of the tensions of this are depicted in the I-poem below.

I said to Natalie
I'll do that
I'll build the TAs up hard
I found it quite **hard**
I found it **hard** these are people
I work with everyday
I'm not a trainer or a skilled trainer
I just needed to impart the knowledge I **had**

The poem shows some of the doubts that she has about her abilities. She also regularly offered other training in the school to all staff, every Monday but this was received less well by the teaching staff than the TAs. At one session, Denise was keen to use participative approaches and began the session with a ‘spin the bottle’

ice-breaker exercise but some of staff found this rather embarrassing and tried their best not to join in. Denise said with some exasperation that she did this every week. The training role therefore that Denise is undertaking is quite substantial, mentioned in the school development plan and the support from management is solely from the head. The support for Denise's training role seemed haphazard and maybe, due to the current absence of a deputy head, may be more stretched. However, this is typical of horizontal management in a school where 'skill-sharing' is a method of training. The use of a learning mentor to train TAs raises questions about her status in the organisation and how well equipped she is. This is normally the remit of senior managers, who are more able to influence work with staff and this can help permeate curriculum areas more forcefully.

6.2.2 GOVERNORS' TRAINING LAUNCH EVENT.

Denise was often asked to participate in and organize multicultural activity. As part of this two year 5 pupils from St Botolph's, Derek and Nina, were going to perform a Bollywood routine choreographed by an Indian dance teacher. This was a cross-authority initiative bringing together children from many different schools. They had been part of a 'consultation process' on 'community safety', which was to be presented to school governors attended also by senior education staff from across the authority. The event had taken on a special significance due to the LEA worries about an infamous recent racist murder that had received national publicity and sparked much soul-searching. It was a large and high profile event with around 200 people attending at a smart hotel.

On the way the children sat in the back of the car, Denise asked them to tell me what they did at the conference they replied "*to create future leaders*". She continued, seemingly on their behalf,

"It was to tell people what you wanted like 'Indian dance'. The fire and police were there, culture in the community. Gangs, 'what we don't want'. You made friends from different schools. You had discussions about how times are changing. The dance teacher did a nice thing she brought a sari with her and unwrapped it and it went from one side of the hall to the other. She made costumes for everybody.

There is therefore possibly an implicit *colonial* way of working for Denise, not in an overbearing way but it showed an undertone to her thinking, which fore-grounded positive activities.

While the main conference was going on we had arrived and waited in the canteen area as children were getting ready, along with the other learning mentors, who were all female. Children were being dressed in Indian costumes, with compliments being paid, some of the mothers had arrived to watch and assist too. The only non-white people at the event are the dance teacher, myself and the mother of the murder victim. The dance teacher began to take the children through the steps in a final rehearsal. Out of all the adults in the canteen, as the only male I felt as if I was invading a female-space. The learning mentors knew each other from previous events, there seemed to be a sense of occasion. I have reproduced some extracts from the day of my notes from the time

There are about ten girls and five boys
There seems to be a sense of pride.
Denise says that she wants to try a sari.

The dance teacher wants to do a run through in the lobby
She (the dance teacher) shouts OK everyone. I notice her voice is husky. She puts on finishing touches to the children's costumes. The girls are wearing saris the boys are wearing kurta pyjamas with waistcoats.

The boys are wearing gungaroos (bells) on their legs and fastening them on to each other and tuck their trousers in
The group is ready for a run-through and the children practice .
The dance teacher instructs the children to 'walk nicely' as they enter the room

I can see one of the learning mentors who seems younger than the others concentrating very hard and copying the moves as the children practice. It seems as if she would like to be participating in the dance. The other learning mentors are looking on admiringly
The children are practicing, some are moving the wrong way and the dance teacher points them in the right direction. She sings lines from the song as she moves. They finish and the children sit around and seem quite relaxed

Next to me a mother is feeding a young baby about six months old and a boy who I assume to be her son is sitting with her eating his sandwiches.
On the settee on the far side of the room another mother is helping her daughter adjust her dress and talking to her.
The children are sitting/lounging on the floors.
Two girls are putting on lipstick
Derek is lying on a settee with his eyes shut. The atmosphere is very relaxed.

We go into the main room where all the governors and councillors are seated. I see Erika the community cohesion adviser, to whom I had been briefly introduced earlier, is hosting this part of the session. Erika seems nervous but also proud as the children do the routine. The audience seemed to focus on the dance. When the dance is over Erika goes to the front. She asks everyone to clap for the teachers who have been involved 'in all the work' She tells us that the dance teacher is available at 'reasonable rates'. She advertises an 'Experience India Day Holi'. She thanks the learning mentors who organised the community cohesion day. They do this 'for free' she says

I notice that at a table on my right near the back, a signer is conveying the lyrics to the members on the table. The DVD has been produced by a local disability arts group and they are sitting at this table.

[13.3.09]

The children seem to have enjoyed the experience, they are loudly applauded as they finish. The usage of children in this way is very much a 3S's⁵¹ approach. Their experience of being prepared was documented in a DVD called 'Citizens of the Future', played after they left the stage, which suggested that the children benefited by learning about citizenship and worked together to look at 'community safety'. It also incorporated work on disability, knife crime with input from the fire service and the children's safeguarding board. Most of the video consisted of visuals of children learning to dance, working together using flipcharts and pens, making CDs marked in felt-tip with anti-bullying messages and words including peace, justice love and hope. Prizes were given out by a relative of the murder victim, accompanied by the soundtrack, "Over the rainbow" performed by Israel Kamakawiwo'ole, the Hawaiian singer.

The children's performance provides an emotional smoke-screen that race work is being done. As they were waiting, the scene described earlier, showed the deep emotional backdrop where the learning mentors, primed for a 'performance' had been very concerned that the children would do their best to pull off a complex routine. This is heightened by the presence of the mother of the murder victim and provides a sense of amelioration that issues are being addressed. The children involved are a handful, carefully selected and provided with special work, which fails to examine the causes of racist, sexist or homophobic bullying while presenting it as unacceptable. It appears that while the launch provided important information about the duties for schools and governors the presence of the children has little educational merit for them or involves complex learning. Neither does it enable the learning mentors or teachers to make better sense of what community cohesion is, rather it foregrounds a 'performative' concern supplemented by emotion. Later on at St Botolph's in a special assembly the head who had come especially for the performance praises Denise and the children for their contribution, providing recognition and rewarding her publicly for her role.

The event showed the importance accorded to policy guidance. The audience had

⁵¹ The 3S's was a disparaging term used to describe multicultural work, short for Saris Steel Bands and Samosas (See Chauhan: 1989) in which the cultural differences became reduced to food and clothing ignoring structural reasons for racism.

been addressed earlier by the chief executive and council chairs of Loxley, who had stated the duties under the DCSF/DCLG (2007) for each school to have a clearly laid out commitment to community cohesion. Also outlined were the monitoring requirements set out in the Education Inspections Act (2006) a key governors' responsibility. The performance DVD was included in the conference pack, accompanied with a data DVD, which has documentary material and policy guidance on bullying. This includes Guidance on tackling racist incidents 'Bullying around racism, religion and culture' (DfES 2006a) and on Community Cohesion (DCSF/DCLG 2007) Also included was material on a range of 'other' bullying, including homophobia, cyber-bullying, transphobia and SEN (though not gender). In this way community cohesion is becoming connected with strategies for dealing with inappropriate action and this is seen very much as a behavioural issue.

This could have been a scene from any time over the last thirty years with the exception of the work on anti-bullying and community safety. This conflation of themes produces a world where bullying is a spontaneous act without any structural foundation. An interesting composite discourse is arising from the positioning of work on community cohesion alongside work on bullying and community safety.' The use of community as a descriptive term seems to mean everything and nothing by which I use Anderson's work on the imagined community (1991) as a fuzzy and warm nostalgic concept. However, "community cohesion" initially arose following the Northern 'disturbances' 9/11 and 7/7 this has been supplanted and connected to the PVE (Preventing Violent Extremism) agenda (Miah 2013b). In schools more recently the duty around community cohesion has very often, become focused on working on 'extremist' ideology with Muslim communities as a focus, rather than on a broader dialogue about how prejudice can be created. (Thomas 2009; Akram and Richardson 2009). In this way, community cohesion becomes a smorgasbord of well-intentioned work with no singular theme. Whilst the community cohesion agenda emanated from the aftermath of the 2001 riots, the focus in bringing communities together through twinning for example has with the development of the Prevent agenda had funding and resources reduced and becoming more targeted in looking at 'unacceptable extremism' being focused on Islam 'radicalisation'. Thus where LEAs are able to it can it has become dovetailed into other areas such as

community safety, when given the racist murder while imperative, this limits the scope of 'race' work.

The juxtaposition with bullying also provides a useful possible avenue, briefly it connects to behavioural issue as exhibited by the guidance (DfES 2006a). In education settings, learning should involve work on attitudes and values, where a more holistic dialogue is required. The use of events such as the community cohesion 'day' additional presents a tokenistic way of suggesting that schools are actively fostering 'good relations'. The day was themed 'community safety' and this was displayed in the slides used on the day. While there is a high public profile, the 'performance' is valued but the educational aspect is less clear or convincing and the connection with 'safety' in regard to bullying is more transparent, where the prevention of bullying lessens harm. It seems a very indirect method of dealing with race.

Having examined multicultural 'performance' the next section examines how some of the policy backdrop is explained to the learning mentors at a special training day to further examine how the policy material is being implemented.

6.2.3 COMMUNITY COHESION TRAINING FOR LEARNING MENTORS.

Denise was looking forward to the training, hoping to be provided with 'answers' about how to improve her practice on race. The session was being run by the schools' advisor Erika, whom I had come across, at the Governors' launch event.

I arrive early at the training centre that is a converted school. It is constructed around grassy quadrangles with classrooms located around, just ahead of me is Erika. I seem to be one of the first and Erika directs me to the canteen. When I get there, the group seem to know each other well. The event is being held in the school vacation as the learning mentors have contracts

The New Duty on Schools and The Role of the Governor

13 March 2009

Brenda Carlsson

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And Ofsted Inspector

with fewer holidays. There are seventeen learning mentors, all white, mainly female seemingly in their 30s and 40s, with two males. One appears about fifty and the other is in his late 20s we sit for a while drinking tea and then return to the classroom. When we enter the slide on the previous page was displayed.

After a pause Erika begins. She explains that schools have a statutory duty to carry out work on community cohesion.

“It fits with the OFSTED stuff. I have had a few panicky phone calls,” she jokes and cowers in a seemingly comical fashion, no-one laughs. She continues 'It's part of the equality STUFF'. (P) “If you are a good school then you will be doing all this anyway.” She explains, “Community cohesion came out of the 'disturbances' in places like 'Bury' and 'Bradford'. It has now polarised. In some areas, schools were 98% white and 98% Asian. If you add on poor housing, lack of job opportunities. It led to fighting. There is going to be investment in buildings. We'll look at what the STUFF is about. We'll spend the afternoon planning, planning what you'll be doing.”

She takes a sip of water and pauses. I realise that she is using a slide presentation from the governor's conference, Erika goes on to say,

'She's also an OFSTED inspector, 'she's great'. We will look at in relation to the role of governors.”

I realise that no-one has spoken yet.

“You will know at the end what it will look like. You will KNOW what to do. You go on an internet crawl and it just messes with your head. There's all these reports and guidance documents. It's very user-friendly, when all this started the institute of community cohesion ICOCO, with all the STANDARDS for schools but they are UNWORKABLE'. They were HUGE. An example is maintaining attainment against gender' The DCSF then came along and said ICOCO, this is our version in the Red folder. I've had a couple of schools ring me to say what can I do?”


This seems quite an interesting presentation in terms of the dynamics of the group. The staff are all learning mentors in mainly white schools. They are by and large working class, whereas Erika, who was a teacher seems more middle-class. Not being privy to what training had already taken place, the experience of most of the

group may have been around schools twinning and multicultural work such as that of the dance from the governors' training day. Beginning the day with the DCSF guidance seems quite a 'heavy' start, compounded by her initial theatrics. The second part of the introduction seems to ward off against researching or examining community cohesion further. There is little attempt made to define the terms and language used at the beginning. The usage of slides from another presentation aimed at governors, managers or teachers suggests that either little thought has gone into the process or there is a lack of understanding of what is involved in community cohesion. There is little opportunity to theorise or explore how race is conceptualized, for example why targets are deemed necessary. Perhaps to monitor discrimination and to develop initiatives to counter it. Erika's foregrounding of urban multicultural areas is also problematic for staff, who in this LEA, work with almost mono-culturally white children. I wonder about the use of 'Bradford' or 'Bury' in some ways this removes community cohesion from the lexicon of Loxley which has a miniscule BME population. The use of the word STANDARDS may also be confused with standards in teaching perhaps around Key Stage targets, especially in conjunction with the DCSF/DCLG (2007). There seems in the language of the delivery to be a positioning of elements with which the learning mentors may be distantly aware of but are unlikely to be familiar with at a practice level.

What is 'community cohesion'?

DCSF guidance says:

'By community cohesion, we mean working towards a society in which there is a common vision and sense of belonging by all communities; a society in which diversity of people's backgrounds and circumstances are valuable to all; and a society in which strong and positive relationships exist and continue to be developed in the workplace, in schools and the wider community.'



Slide 2

Erika on a number of occasions reads out the bullet points on the slides. She says at one stage, when looking at slide 4 which talks about the new duty set by the Labour government

What is the new duty?

Section 21(4) of the Education Act 2002 (as inserted by section 38 of the Education and Inspections Act 2006) states that:

'The governing body of a maintained school shall, in discharging their functions relating to the conduct of the school –

- (a) promote the well-being of pupils at the school, and*
- (b) in the case of a school in England, promote community cohesion.'*

The duty came into effect on 1 September 2007 and from 1 September 2008, HMCI (Ofsted) has reported on the contribution made by schools to community cohesion.

Slide 4

"You are not responsible for this. It is a whole school matter for the headteacher and senior managers. OFSTED are asking about this." She waves a blue handout. "Also we need to look at other equality standards, age, sexual orientation."

What does this mean?

- The governing body is legally responsible for ensuring that the school meets the duty
- The headteacher takes responsibility for operational management of the duty and reports to governors
- Governors should make sure that the school's strategic plans are informed by the local area plans
- With their experience of the wider community governors can be particularly helpful in advising the school on how it can develop its role in the community and become more effective as a force for cohesion across the local area

Slide 5

The slides relate to the governor's duties and thus offer little detail about how they relate to the learning mentors day-to-day work. They may relate to themes from the RRA (2000) which was designed to tackle institutional racism. However, a wider discussion of what the duties involved in relation to practice seem to be what would be more appropriate. Erika, though ploughs on doggedly for thirty-five minutes. She intersperses her reading of the slides with general comments about 'equality' issues. Such as the lack of access to toilets in some schools, when "*there are 18 million people with a disability.*" At one point she says

"If you've got BME at your school, you should presume that they are being racially abused elsewhere."

Here some of the learning mentors visibly twitched. The use of the third person grates and arguably has an effect of 'othering' non-white children. She makes references to equality standards but so far has not explained how these relate to the new duties or even briefly examines their history or application. She stops at one point and asks "*is anyone at a school where you all get on with each other?*" One of the LMs raises her hand and Erika looks a little surprised. She repeats the question ignoring the hand, "*Is anyone in schools where they⁵² don't get on? For example I have been to schools where they have separate staff rooms and meetings.*"

This is followed by a comment from one of the learning mentors, Alice who says, "*I haven't heard the word community cohesion until I came across this event*". Denise says that OFSTED are concerned with the issue and it is 'embedded' in school work. Erika suggests that she visits the school and discusses matters with the school manager. Erika then continues resolutely with the slide and when she gets to number

⁵² Referring to the separation between support staff and teachers

17 says how she has been to schools where “*only twenty minutes*” are spent looking at community cohesion in schools. Then she says how “*We spend a lot of time 'moaning' in schools.*” “*Be methodical,*” says Erika making a chopping action with her hand as she emphasises the word methodical “*That's what OFSTED will say,*” then announces a break but continues for a further three slides and completes the presentation.

After the break the rest of the morning is a hotch-potch beginning with a short video on disability, a discussion of language and then a video from the governors event. She begins, “We'll do some planning this afternoon.” Erika is keen to ensure that she has back-up material, “I have 2 DVDs for you, there is a copy in your pack. I have downloaded all the DCSF stuff on bullying – ie homophobic, racism, transgender.” This is the material given out at the governors’ event.

I found the thread of this session difficult to follow. The general work on equality is being confused, with no discussion or teasing out of what is understood by the audience. I personally found the training run by Erika to be misleading and needed to analyse why it came across in this way, this will be carried out in the next section.

6.2.4 UNPICKING RULING RELATIONS

Institutional ethnography examines how ruling relations allows organisations to foreground their own narratives, this seems to be an example. An exploration of the social world that exists for learning mentors may allow views to be suggested as to how the provision of training is seen by the group. The learning mentors appear to identify themselves more as a group than the teaching assistants who have been employed more recently with less opportunity for external group training. This gathering together, allows the members to ascertain group norms and values, to share experiences and to intimate the position of the learning mentors in relation to others in schools but the presence of Erika in this situation is quite a powerful one. For Smith, micro-interactions allow us access to “ruling relations, which underpin the interactions between the social actors in the setting” (1990, p7). This can be complemented by an examination of the documents and procedures in social

environments. This arises by studying the ‘problematic’ which she locates from Althusser’s work (1977). The problematic for the learning mentors at present seem to be about fitting work around equality into the bureaucratic language being used. Thus when Alice professed ignorance this could be used by Erika to move to a clearer definition but as Smith relates

“Questions and problems arise to be taken up, but they do not exhaust the direction of inquiry. The concept of the problematic makes it possible to differentiate clearly between, on the one hand, the actual properties of the everyday/evernight worlds of our contemporary societies that are never self-subsisting but always tied in multiple ways to complexes of relations beyond them. And, on the other making the actual organization the problematic of an inquiry that tracks from people’s experiences of the local actualities of their living into the relations present in and organizing but at best only partially visible within them.” (Smith 2005, p38)

Thus Erika’s failure to explain, is an ‘actuality’, and to offer to discuss directly with Alice’s head displays a set of power relations which positions community cohesion as work between two sets of managers, rather than an educational act involving staff and children. With regard to race in particular Gunaratnam states that “ideas about race and ethnicity can thus be understood as being produced through complicated social relations, with these ideas taking on distinct meanings within different social contexts” (2003, p13). The central narrative present in this training event seems to lay an emphasis on the importance of the potential role that is played by learning mentors in tackling aspects of community cohesion, but has been reduced to one which is about providing ‘data’ to fit into devices such as the ‘equality plans’ and subjugates their work. It also foregrounds OFSTED as a surveillance mechanism (Foucault 1995). Erika says *“I’ll touch on it briefly and I’ll explain again. It’s not your responsibility. You should have a Race Equality Scheme, Disability Scheme, Access and Guidance. We’ll all have a look at that properly later”* No-one questioned any of the terminology used at this point. This has thus produced a bureaucratised narrative on general equality that does not fit with the actual experiences or needs of the participants. Denise had seen this event as being very useful in planning projects on community cohesion in school but this is not apparent at present.

A central aim of IE is to ensure that voices of informants are heard. The subtext of the session appears to be this is too complex for learning mentors to understand. There is no explanation about ICOCO its aims or context. The event above produces an overtly bureaucratic narrative of race and equality, which is compounded by Erika's usage of the inspector's slide that has itself been taken from EHRC and OFSTED mechanisms. Along with Erika's status as an adviser for the LEA, this seems to provide a power differential. Her quip about staffroom divisions seems to be a ploy to show she is on the 'side' of the learning mentors. She provides some seemingly unequivocal information about how to go about 'doing' community cohesion using the 'threat' of OFSTED from the outset. Yet their efficacy in inspecting race work, has been questioned (Osler and Morrison 2000, 2002). Requesting the learning mentors to fill in the SEF⁵³ form seems a device to further distance them from the actuality of community cohesion, which is now transformed into form-filling.

Outlined in chapter three was how previously race work in education had a number of forums and resources for work. This would allow the development of the enquiring teacher identity (Menter et al 2010) to examine how notions of rights and injustice act as a trigger to examine how education practices such as the invisibility of BME groups in the curriculum material or to explore how colonial experiences and histories result in structural oppression. Erika's positioning of BME children as the 'other' paints them as anonymous victims. There is a focus on a 'disembodied' notion of equality and therefore the work focuses on policies produced via the equalities assessment monitoring seems to have become the locus of the work. This is a taxonomic approach to charting progress on equality which is bureaucratised with systems in place to 'measure' equality and it is this rather than the practice 'echoing' Ahmed's experience (2007) that takes precedence.

The lineage of community cohesion has been enshrined in work from Cattle (2001) which talked of a common vision. These later became 'standards' (Home Office 2004) and through the Education and Inspections Act (2006) and guidance

⁵³ Self Evaluation Form. This was a document used by OFSTED to audit community cohesion in schools to be completed by the governing body. (DCSF/DCLG:2007, p8) It consisted of a series of questions about activity, attainment of different groups and monitoring of harassment.

(DfES/DCSF 2007) the work became refined as ‘duties’. Present in earlier work is discussion about belonging and ‘tolerance’ but definitions or discussion of these are absent in later documentation. At this time also the differing equalities bodies came together (Equalities Act 2006) and this produced a more generalised approach to difference. Schools did have to produce greater details of their plans for race (Home Office 2004) but as the broader approach took hold this led to much confusion and now dropped by the coalition. This continued with the publication of the DfES Guidance ‘Bullying around racism, religion and culture’ (2006), not primarily with the content but how ‘bullying’ becomes central rather than tackling ‘difference’ via the curriculum, despite the recommendations of MacPherson

“If racism is to be eradicated there must be specific and co-ordinated action both within the agencies themselves and by society at large, particularly through the educational system, from pre-primary school upwards and onwards.” (1999, pt 6.54)

Also emphasised are the recording of instances of racist behaviour. Perhaps, the political problems of this were foretold.

“The lack of powers available to local education authorities and the fear of negative publicity by schools clearly combine to make anti-racist policies, even where they exist, ineffective.” (1999, pt 6.56).

The usage of centrally generated material DfES (2006a) DCSF/DCLG (2007) in both sets of training sites has taken prominence over the learning process. IE comments on how policies created elsewhere provide instances of ruling relations, the move from standards to duties for governors appears to embed this and remove agency for teachers.

6.2.5 COUNTERPOINT - THE HANDS EXERCISE

Having shown two key events and provided a deep description with an analytic commentary it is necessary to examine some of the possible dis-junctures that take place. Fitting with this thesis it draws on creative use of data and draws briefly on some of the material from an exercise in the afternoon, from the learning mentor training where a different approach was used. Some facilitation took place with a creative agent who asks the LMs to draw and cut out the shape of their hands and place slogans on it that depicted their understanding of community cohesion.



Fig 6b



Fig 6c

After the morning this exercise was well-received and gave the chance for the learning mentors to express their feelings and the themes that arose were very much about social justice, equality and working together. In the same vein as the I-poem this visual data allows access to a different series of messages. A list of the terms that were used on the hands have been placed in the Appendix B for reference, where they have been grouped. This is a form of content analysis, which is not a usual technique in regard to IE. It may be possible to offer some semiotic reading of the images but in this instance the stimulus was not a direct question but a more open task that opens up a broader understanding of community cohesion. This is akin to an exercise from a focus group albeit in a very limited form. It does offer a shorthand (no pun intended) method of accessing some of the cursory understandings of community cohesion.

This on a tentative basis suggests that the perceptions are about respect, equality and shared values that may have been expected but also about family and community. Accompanying this in terms of professional values is the importance placed on multi-agency work and thus ensuring different organisations work together to build cohesion. The other strong strand is one of exploring difference in an education context and exploring the connection with belonging.

Yet this exercise is not commented upon and then the rest of the afternoon is spent examining case-studies – a booklet of 16 examples printed out from the Teachernet website is handed out. This is followed by a half-hearted attempt to ask everyone to fill in the SEF. This feels a little complex for the learning mentors and is problematic in that the expectation of even quite junior staff to have a duty to produce detailed evidence for reports seems quite onerous and beyond the scope of their duties. This seems to continue the bureaucratic response, there is confusion about the tasks and the day seems to fizzle out as evaluation sheets were given out. Shortly before the end, Erika cites the ‘open growth’ of the BNP in one of the local areas. Even though many people seem disengaged and are critical of the tasks in private they seem not to want to say this publicly. I notice surreptitiously that one of the learning mentors who was quite critical gives Erika a good score of 4/5 for the training.

Afterwards I engaged Erika in conversation at the end of the day, she declined a full interview but explained that she had worked as a primary teacher for eight years, in this local authority and had gained a job as an adviser three years ago. She had taken over the race and equality strand when a more senior adviser left but had not undertaken any specialised training apart from attending a briefing on the equality standards in London. Her job also involved support for the teaching assistants and learning mentors. She was thus familiar with the group and had worked with some of them as a teacher previously in schools and knew them well but had little background knowledge of race and equality issues.

6.2.6 SHOCKS AND PUZZLEMENT

Detailed here are two examples of situations which contain possible shock and puzzlement in regard to race. These are not singular instances in the classroom but are publicly mediated events, presented with the potential to help ‘transform’ race practice. Both were partially at least reactions to the wider ‘institutional’ shock of a racist murder in the locality and tangential references were made to this. There are clear emotional reactions to both of the presented scenarios. The first provides rewards and positive reinforcement of multicultural ‘performative’ activity for its sake and its value as part of the inspection procedure. The use of the language of

duties and standards present in both settings (DfEE 2001; DfES 2006; Gillborn 2006b; DCSF/DCLG 2007; Parsons 2009; Broadhurst and Wright 2011) seems to embed this further. While shocks and puzzles are represented by Schön as being instances of ‘not knowing’. The incredulity about community cohesion by the learning mentors appears to be a conflict over the use of community. The nostalgic view, embodied in Anderson’s vision seems clearly writ large and is within the conceptions of the support staff. However when deeper questions are posed about the values and definitions this is not available for exploration and is further distanced by Erika presenting it as a managerial tool and by her foregrounding monitoring and action plans (Gillborn 2006b; Cudworth 2008; Bolloten 2012).

While there is a desire on the part of the learning mentors to ‘remove’ difference there is little detailed analysis of what this involves. When I asked Denise about the training and how it went she had expressed disappointment with the LEA training in contrast to the ACT training (See chapter 7) which had been more open-ended. She had commented

“So I think people are at a bit of a loss as to er, why we are doing it, how does it fit in with school?”

Suggesting that rather than resolving puzzles, this had deepened her confusion. The next section explores Denise’s use of reflective spaces to provide a critical interpretation of how these are used to help resolve her understandings of issues that arise in practice.

6.3 REFLECTIVE SPACES

6.3.1 PRIVATE AND PUBLIC ENVIRONMENTS

Having provided an examination of examples of puzzlement for Denise, this section moves to describe the spaces that she finds conducive to reflection to interpret how this helps her to move to more nuanced understandings of her situation. The aim is to explore reflection more discursively, to provide a critical interpretation of the processes involved.



Fig 6d

I draw here on images using photo-elicitation (Rose 2006; Pink 2005) from Chapter 5 to provide an analysis of Denise's thoughts on reflective space from her final interview. She expanded on photographs that she had taken of spaces that she found conducive to reflection. The first space that Denise chose to cite as a place where she reflected was her garden (above) . It was evident that that being at home was an area that gave Denise a 'safe' retreat. Not all of the elements are visible in this photograph, for example Denise counted fifteen separate places to sit down in the garden, she was very comfortable there.

"I feel more at ease at home (P). I get a great sense of peace (p). Erm possibly (p), I think because of that it facilitates better reflection for me. That's the best way I can put it I can't think of another way of putting it."

Evidently this was an area that seemed for her to be associated with light, space and warmth. It seems to free from the constraints of a work environment and she shared it with her husband, family and friends and felt safe there.

"I can sit with my husband and reflect or whoever is there (p). So it's a great place to be plus also erm, that's if I do it on my own we have friends in. So if friends come in like (indistinct) for example, you can, can sit and talk for hours on end and reflect."

“I get a **great**, great sense of peace in the garden. I love it and as you said, a vastly different view and you can't use it in the winter and that takes something away from it. The minute the spring comes you're out in the garden you're **out** in it the whole of the summer even if you have to put a coat on. “

She described how the warmth was important, how she moved around to follow the sun as the day went on, even in the evening she felt that the different tables and chairs outside formed “little cocoons”. Another area which she had found conducive, was a chair in the lounge, this was next to a door which opened from the house into the garden.



Fig 6e

There was a familial connection with the chair it had,

“Been in the family for donkey’s years, a big old Victorian chair you can get in that in winter or summer(p). Summer with the door open winter er you know with the fire on you sit in there and yet again that's a really great place because the armchair you know wraps itself around. You feel that you can let your thoughts wander (P)”.

This too therefore offered physical support, she described the seat as being deep, allowing her to sink into it to gather her thoughts. This appears to give a material feeling of safety and the reassurance this gives her allows her physical as well as mental release. When I had asked her why this was important she had said.

“I think you have got to feel (p). I think you have got to feel safe if you are going to reflect properly. I think that's a big element of why you said before, do people want to undertake reflective practice? Cos I think there is a risk in it.”

This seems to concur with Issitt's (2003) point in Chapter 2 where the use of reflective practice may involve individuals moving onto rocky territory. When pushed more to explain what she meant by this felt that she used reflection to deal with her own 'stress' in her day-to-day work. For her 'stress' involved instances of dealing with children in a child-protection role. Thus Denise's stress was not one of her personal workload but about having to deal with trauma for her she described a serious case which

“Bother(ed) you (her) for a **week** (p) and that can be quite traumatic and stressful. So that's a difficult aspect and you're not magic either you can't fix everything but you can't fix it if you could you think there's nothing I can do there, or what can I do to alleviate it but sometimes there isn't anything (p) so that can be hard.”

'Stress' here seemed to involve being unable to resolve the problems that existed for her charges. This seemingly accords with her mental health background and given that she seems valued in the school the priority for her is to be able to steel herself for the challenges of dealing with children who undergo emotional and psychological problems or suffer from the effects of poverty as these were the elements that seemed foremost in her practice.

The qualities of the garden that allowed this to be dealt with was that she liked being close to the “*plants and flowers*” and found the visual nature of the garden conducive “*if you are looking at something nice and beautiful erm I think that frees my mind up*”. This underlines the cathartic element which allows Denise some release but appears that puzzlement does not trigger action but where deep difficulties arise, firstly require some time to come to terms with them.

When asked about the difference between home and school. She felt that she reflected more deeply at home because there was less of a risk of interruption. To her one didn't

“Always truly (P) reflect at school but I feel more able if you like, so if I have a problem the best place to reflect on and solve it is at home.”

Turning her thoughts to her office, Denise acknowledged her luck in being allocated an office, which none of the TAs had and had placed posters in the office and samples of the children’s work because

“It’s nice if a child has taken the trouble to give **you** something to see that you value it, so you put it up”

Above all for her

“It’s a safe place for the children to talk as well because they **know** that the rules in the room **are** (p), you never shout here you always discuss.”

And this indicated how she tried to create a calm environment. Denise had taken charge of decorating a family room (fig 6a,f) and she saw this too as a space for reflection. She described how the children had worked with her to decorate the space and she said that

“We call it the bubble room because(p), er somebody has painted it all over with lovely bubbles on the wall for the children.”

Additionally the colour blue was chosen because it was seen as a peaceful colour and clouds were painted on the ceiling, although I asked her about the community’s use of the room she lapsed back into her own experiences

“I have got to have really truly (p) own my feelings and to think I’ve got to have somewhere that’s peaceful (P). Or somewhere that em you can fully explore your own thoughts and to me surroundings are important.”



Fig 6f

6.3.2 SUMMARY

These brief vignettes show firstly that Denise requires calm and peace to be able to reflect deeply. There also needs to be a physical as well as mental ‘safety’, suggesting that she needed safeguarding against possible trauma from deep thinking. Denise also described her car as a reflective space and had taken photographs of it.

“I've told you before coming to work and going home 'cos that's your own time and your own space, isn't it ? So that's a great time to think that's a great time to think (p). Actually I quite enjoy at the end of the day getting in the car and going home (p) and thinking and think oh I've got this time truly to myself (p). Because (p) you know we lead busy lives, there is nobody else around so you know you can really (P) think can't you?”

The journey took thirty to forty minutes depending on traffic but for Denise

“I feel a great sense of peace when I hit a certain point er and I start to go into the countryside and I feel a huge peace.”

She was almost always on her own on the journey. This reiterates the process of reflection not about tackling a problem head on but of reaching an emotional feeling of peace and the denouement is not the solution but of arriving at some sort of equilibrium in which the problems become dissipated. The use of the journey at the end of the day seemed to have a cathartic effect. The photos very much provoked for Denise a feeling of trying to create a calm, safe space. Denise also seemed to rely on the proximity of friends or family. It appeared that her background in psychology, along with her interest produces a construction of reflective spaces, as one in which safety and catharsis are most prominent. For her the deepest reflection took place in personal environments. In either setting, there is little if any recourse to external material or evidence of critical reading.

6.4 DRAWING DATA DIALOGUES

6.4.1 ANALYSIS IN QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

While top-down approaches begin with the policy documentation in which “issues are formulated because they are administratively relevant, not because they are significant first in the experience of those who live them” (Smith 1990, p15). Rather IE begins with the first-hand experiences as they reside in the day-to-day problematics (section 4.4) before moving to the secondary dialogue in which the researcher examines the extracts in which the “traces of the organisation become apparent” (Walby 2012, p4). This is achieved by contrasting the disjunctures as they appear and are described in the earlier sections, before moving onto how they are linked in texts.

Traditionally analysis using ethnographic approaches involves thick description (Fetterman 2009) the goal is to report “accounts of ‘how it is’ as “objectively as possible” Campbell and Gregor 2002, p88). ‘Anthropological’ versions of ethnography treat the researcher as a reporter, in which simple positivist research often sets ‘why?’ and ‘how?’ questions while failing to pose wider more holistic questions about the effects of altering systems and the impact of them on individuals and dispossessed groups. This works to a particular strength of qualitative research,

which aims to go beyond ‘causality’. As Coffey and Atkinson state, it can “identify mechanisms going beyond sheer association.” (1996). In drawing on IE this process takes place via data dialogues (Smith 2005, p135–139; Walby 2012) which are embedded in ‘institutional talk’ to produce ‘ruling relations’

“We look for what people say about the ‘work’ they do that connects them to the work others are doing elsewhere or elsewhen.” (Smith 2002, p31)

Through this, IE attempts to arrive at an “explication that builds back into the analytic account what the researcher discovers about the workings of (such) translocal ruling practices.” (Campbell and Gregor 2002, p90). Drawing on Bakhtin’s use of discourse (1981) Smith sees these as being rooted in people’s experiences, viewing them as ‘experts’ even though accounts may be “ideologically mediated” (Smith 2005, p125). Thus, explication draws on the perceptions of the local, and how policy and texts initiated from above, form the ruling relations of work on race in education. These have been juxtaposed with informant accounts in order to see how they act to co-ordinate work practices.

6.4.2 PUTTING THE DATA TO WORK

There has been an emphasis on providing rich description in the earlier parts of this chapter. In IE it is important to compare the differing accounts of actors in the field and while Schön suggests that ‘professionals’ are triggered into action, presently in this and the next chapter the reflective spaces seem to focus on providing solace. As the informants in this thesis appear to need to come to terms with the shocks and puzzles that they encounter. Section 6.2, drawing on race work began to move to interpretation and linking to policy. Clearly present is the documentation in policy (DfEE 2001; DfES 2003; Home Office 2004; DfES 2006; DCSF/DCLG 2007), however also evident is the amount of confusion that surrounds the execution of the duties, standards and guidance that surrounds community cohesion. This current section draws deeper into this to examine the flows of power, a key aim of IE (Campbell and Gregor 2002; DeVault and McCoy 2006; Smith 1990, 1999, 2005, 2006) applied particularly here, to race.

For Denise, three key elements are highlighted in this chapter. Firstly how her use of emotional intelligence in work informs her practice. This is supported substantially by the management of St Botolph's which also has backing in policy e.g. SEAL (DfES 2005, 2006a). Very much, it was a New Labour policy and although there was little empirical evidence about its efficacy. (See Catalano et al 2004; Ecclestone et al 2008; Humphrey et al 2008; Weare 2010; Cefai and Cavioni 2014). It was widely adopted and had much popular support, though now rescinded. Its implementation by support staff such as Denise, enables her to undertake 'therapeutic' work with children, creating the 'emotional ocean' that surrounds her work and is used to inform both her work practice and reflection.

Secondly, there has been an examination of how community cohesion is present in practice through multicultural work and in training. Despite the expressed desires of staff to be active in creating 'cohesion', the focus in schools foregrounds the monitoring through devices such as the Public Sector Equality Duty⁵⁴ and the prevailing 3S's⁵⁵ approach seems to provide performative 'race' work with emotional rewards via its execution. This is valued both at policy level but also more informally on a social level. The public recognition by the head, governors and senior managers of the LEA acts as reinforcement for her and encourages more involvement in community "performances". This was part of the school 'community cohesion development action plan', with a large responsibility allocated to Denise. I argue that for institutions, 'performance' events, can be seen as an important expression of a value-base that outwardly welcomes diversity. This, rather than tackling 'difference' with its higher visibility is more important. Bullying 'discourses' seem to cast 'racist incidents' as individual indiscretions which as we have seen as a result of the official guidance becomes about behaviour management, where there is a set process ranging from admonishment leading finally to exclusion. Its inclusion in the pack shows the value of it by policy-makers. There is therefore in the presentation of policy a very strong conflation of behaviour discourses with community cohesion work.

⁵⁴ Mechanism to monitor publicly funded organisations set up after the Equality Act (2010) overseen by the EHCR

⁵⁵ 'Saris, Steel Bands and Samosas' - see chapter 3

The third highlighted element is the examination of the spaces, used by Denise to reflect and through the observations of the communal spaces and meetings to provide insight into the social construction of reflection. Denise very much creates personal spaces that work as retreats, while providing opportunities for therapeutic interventions with others. While ‘ideal’ examination of the ‘written’ official texts are useful, evident in the fieldwork examples are firstly the difficulties in transmission of this in top-down policy, as seen in the use of the slides at the training event illustrating the confused ways in which it becomes interpreted in relation to race and equality. The interplay particularly with Erika showed how the use of policy devices suggest action is taking place but revealed how the hierarchical systems exclude practitioners who are keen to take an active role. Firstly the prominence of the monitoring documentation such as the SEF and PSED is followed by work on ‘types’ of difference as seen in the use of the ‘Teachernet’ exercises at the mentor training (Section 6.2.3.a) and at the governor’s event of duties on preventing ‘bullying’ from the (DfES 2006). This becomes tied to developing ‘race’ work as a disciplinary rather than an educative process (Richardson and Miles 2008). It is here that the synthesis emerges as the use of the visual elicitation and I-poems produces a more tangential analysis that places the voice(s) of the informants at the centre, to unpick how they locate themselves in relation to the policy statements and how it relates to their experience. Describing and then following ‘fault-lines’ provides a material basis for a critical examination of how policies with regard to race are applied and conflicts with more traditional policy criticism (Alcock 2008; Abbott et al 2012; Forrester and Garratt 2012) which begins with the documentation. This has the advantage of examining not the ideal, sociological ‘affectations’ of policy but rather the material effects. It also illustrates the power differential, while there is a desire for active work on the part of the learning mentors, the lack of clarity in policy results as shown by the hands exercise a turn to the familiar ground of values such as ‘community’, family and peace. These areas seem to fit well with the practice of the support staff in relation to the emotion work but are unlikely to move into structural criticism and this accords with Lentin’s claims about state anti-racism (2008, 2012a), which provides a performative and multicultural role but does not address deeper issues of race. Whilst the ‘shadow’ of ‘authentic’ racism is cited, with suggestions of fascist activity questions about why this might arise are not entertained.

6.4.3 PUZZLING OVER EMOTIONS

Underpinning the three elements and providing an unexpected entry point was the presence of emotion both of personal situations and around the localised social interactions with policy. It is also present in the ‘performance’ of multicultural/ community cohesion activity (see 8.3.2) which is seen as positive by management but needs an examination of how this contributes to the setting. While the literature chapters covered reflection and race, less clear was the interplay of emotion present in the field in relation to both of these. The prolonged access to the sites provided via the use of naturalistic research settings demonstrates problems that arise in the implementation of policy and of practice. It does this by allowing for data to be gathered on the ways in which reflection is practiced, an intrinsic part of IE, which emphasises social relations. From my critique in chapter two of Schön and in much of the training literature (Osterman and Kottkamp 1993; Pollard and Tann 1993; Hillier 2002; Moon 2004; Pollard 2005; Crawley 2005; IfL 2009; Roffey-Barentsen and Malthouse 2009; Duckworth et al 2010) as well as the Teacher Standards (DoE 2012), cast reflection as part of ‘professional’ construction. This elevates the use of inherent ‘tacit’ knowledge held within the individual. Schön’s use of the examples from the ‘practicum’ emphasises individual action, suggesting that the social component of knowledge is less important implying that practitioners construct ‘experiments’ when reflecting-in-action to develop actions. In the human and caring sciences, there is a particular ethical regard for clients, which may preclude action especially when trauma occurs.

However, in a ‘puzzling’ situation in education, practitioners may need to operate more closely with their colleagues and take greater account of the emotional aspects. Given the problems in reading ‘emotion’ the use of social knowledge here seems to be enacted by Denise who does this when dealing with parents. This suggests that the work of Boud and Mezirow which place a greater emphasis on the use of emotion in reflection but favoured less by Schön offer more opportunities to understand the ethical basis of decisions, particularly of the knowledge held by peers. In chapter two, I critiqued Schön’s ideas about how ‘reflection-in-action’ triggers actions. Through the visual explorations in the case-studies, reflection is used very much as a palliative to provide safety as practitioners seek some

restitution, drawing on social knowledge of their peers and families. In this way the “reflection-on-action” is informed more by social knowledge and the structures in the work place than through a critical process of research. There is a heavy use of emotions in order to provide some catharsis before they are able to feel safe to form action. Thus reflective practice action seems influenced by the social setting rather than professionals providing novel solutions, through academic or experiential enquiry.

Denise sees emotion as important and particularly in relation to her work with the children uses it to support them. She feels rewarded by enabling children to participate in therapeutic activity, fitting with her psychology background and also finds rewards in multicultural work. For Denise these positives are important. Her problems are about coping with the effects of poverty on the children that she works with. She therefore appears turns to deep reflection for catharsis and thus rather than providing a critical examination of situations it seems that the need is for reflection to alleviate stress and to lift tensions that arise from work practices. There is little evidence that Denise examines race critically or has opportunities to do so, despite expressing a desire to do so at the outset. She had wanted to use the learning mentor training to develop her skills in this area but Erika appeared to suggest that this is for senior managers foregrounding monitoring and guidelines. Reference being made to the guidance issued by the DCSF (2007), which using the language of the document, places an emphasis on a ‘common vision’ and a ‘sense of belonging’. This it appears seems to steam-roller ideas of ‘difference’ where ‘other’ values might conflict with Britishness and echoing Campbell and Gregor’s point in section 4.5.1 where a lack of understanding of the historical and material conditions prevent trainees from developing a critical analysis which allow them to challenge practices.

6.5 RE-VISITING THE SHOCKS OF REFLECTION

Having outlined Denise’s experiences of race from the ground up and the importance of emotion, this section will produce an analysis of the constitution of shock for her to help map out the effects of this on reflection. The process of explication is one which involves moving from the entry data provided in interaction in the field to one which is more analytical as “different ontologies require the use of

different analytic strategies" (Campbell and Gregor 2002, p86). Thus the process of detailed description in the earlier sections here has outlined the varied ontological positions extant in the setting, there is some disjuncture between that of the practitioners who see race work as being about community and belonging, while from policy there is a focus on 'performance' and monitoring.

Race work in both of the case studies has a heavy social as well as policy construction evidenced in the setting. These have been examined in detail and are influential in the approaches used by staff. For example when Denise had attended the ACT training with her colleague they had a clearly set out a plan of action for a community cohesion project which they saw as improving the self-esteem and the 'self-image' of the children at her school, this had involved her detailing a number of 'outputs. Including

- the number of staff taking lead
- Number of children in the golden book
- Parental involvement
- Exploring aspects of community cohesion through art work with parents

This shows the pressure to produce 'measurable' outcomes in relation to race work, fitting with a managerialist approach to community cohesion, the language of which embeds and privileges monitoring and ritual 'display' 'performances' in place of a critically informed understanding of the construction at race. It links to the emotion work via the use of the 'Golden Book', a key tenet of the school. At this meeting, Denise had stated, "We are aware of OFSTED – shared values of staff, appreciating differences". This draws on the vocabulary of multicultural work in which Ahmed's experience of "doing the document" (2007), overtakes the requirement to develop holistic understanding of why 'difference' is structurally embedded through normalised institutional practices (Bell 1980; Ladson-Billings 1999; Delgado and Stefancic 2001; Love 2004; Gillborn 2006a; Morfin et al 2006; Leonardo 2009; Taylor et al 2009; Rollock and Gillborn 2011). This linguistic framework of communality, fits with Lentin's work, raising complex questions about what takes place when differences and values are not shared.

6.5.1 BEGINNING WITH THE PROBLEMATICS OF SHOCK

For Denise the primary problematic is that of her worries of the exposure that children have to a deprived environment and detailed in chapter 6 is how this may be related to class. Her concern about the deprivation faced by children was a clear driver. While it is easy for observers to assume that this is overblown, on another occasion after a parent has been in, Denise relates how the house she is moving into, is being blessed by the priest because it has had “*a hanging, a cot-death and two rapes*”. While the parent seemed happy to have been allocated any housing at all, Denise discloses how the mother has no choice and explains some of ‘challenging’ circumstances. She detailed how extensive the support the parent has received from the school, including money for bus fares. This episode reveals the material difficulties that are faced by some families, Loxley is ranked at 4.95% using the IMD⁵⁶ index (DCLG 2010).

These events also demonstrate some of the possibilities for ‘*shock*’ that are discussed in chapter two. The area had been associated very infamously with a racist murder and this was one of the motivations for the focus on the conference described below. There seemed a fear that outsiders would tar the area with the same brush. While Denise did not go into great detail about ‘shocking’ incidents, the frequency which she suggested they happened, seemed to underlie some of the rationale for her work.

A common motivation that Denise cited was about children suffering the effects of poverty, such as crime or drugs and of seeing the effects particularly domestic violence. She asked if I had come across ‘*We need to talk about Kevin*’ by Lionel Shriver, which I had and later if I had read ‘*Engleby*⁵⁷’ by Sebastian Faulks. When I said no she gave me a copy, which I later read and she said that she had discussed this with the head. These artefacts seem to show a concern of violent behavior in adult life being due to early childhood experiences, perhaps also from Denise’s interest in psychology. The books offer a potentially rich seam for those who might be versed in literary criticism, less so for myself as my talents lie elsewhere.

⁵⁶ Index of Multiple Deprivation

⁵⁷ Both of the books have subjects who while ostensibly normal and intelligent end up committing horrific acts.

However, this drawing on fictional narratives suggests that her worries about children not having a supportive home environment encourage her to address this in school time and this was manifested in different approaches.

“Obviously children are in awe of what is happening or it has immediate effect on them. But my concern would be ah you know what about their future how will they develop, because they have experienced that and I think that's more for me is a question whereas we can treat it at source now. Where you know you can talk about it and say the rights and wrongs of it. And the roads people should take and obviously something which is violent is going to have a huge impact straight away on a child but it's what it's how it affects their development for the future isn't it? So what kind of human being you know actually become or because of it or or if you know if you want to go down, down that road. Er is it a huge trauma that is going to stay with them a length of time. I don't know really em even though I might have as you say you know my studies in psychology I am not a clinician so I don't know.”

Thus, the ‘shock’ for Denise appears to be the possible psychological effects of the local environment. It seems very plausible for Denise that her use of positive reinforcement emanates from a fear that children are being exposed to “trauma”, from the environment. This extends also to providing experiences such as the meditation room and associated activities that counter their day-to-day lives. It links to her discussion of the two books, in which children who face problems in early life go on to commit serious crimes later on and her concern to prevent this and can be seen as an act of amelioration. This could be viewed as an issue of class, where her experience of ‘deprivation’ may differ and jar with her middle-class outlook. The problematic, in Smith’s terms (1987, 1990, 2005, 2006), for Denise is how best to provide an escape for children and parents not just from the effects but perhaps from some of the values and experiences.

There is a deep intimation through her actions that possible solutions reside in her mental health background and training, evidenced by the importance that she places on the usage of therapeutic methods. An answer for her seems to involve the use of emotional learning which she relates to her use of reflection

“I think (p) when you talk about reflection, I hope I've learnt to deal with my own stress. I do try I can't say I don't get stressed because that would be untrue because I do, but I think I've got my own strategies to deal with it erm (P). It's a very, very (p) demanding and busy role and sometimes you feel as though you've just got too much to do (p). And that can be a huge stress (p), I mean if I am really honest.”

There is a sense here that without opportunities to alleviate her ‘stress’ through reflection, she would not be able to perform her duties, where in severe cases this could last for ‘weeks’. The material effects of poverty and deprivation on the children and families seemed to be areas that resulted in shock or puzzlement for Denise. Although employed as a learning mentor she had in addition to her work responsibilities for child protection and supported the TAs, as well as the community cohesion work in which she felt highly motivated. This was a “huge interest for her” and an escape from the “crisis management”. This latter point for Denise involved working with parents as well as children and could range from supporting them with social services through to financial problems and the community cohesion work produced the feeling for her that she was doing something different and useful. I described earlier in this chapter how the dance session and assemblies often produced praise for her, providing a public reward and also brought her closer to the children. Therefore, the emotional cachet attached to multicultural work was positive in contrast to other areas that required catharsis through reflection.

A tension here was that Denise had expressed worries about her knowledge in relation to race work and her experience of the community cohesion training brought this to the fore. In order to provide entry to Denise’s thoughts an extract from an I-poem is used as it encapsulates some of the material from the previous section. I had interviewed Denise afterwards as I wanted to unpick some of her thoughts.

“I felt that doing the work at ACT had taken us down a road that had superceded the work we had done with Erika. I say I don't think people really know at the moment what community cohesion is. We have to do community cohesion so I think people are at a bit of a loss. What I meant really when I said to you it's community cohesion, it's more about erm the practicalities of doing it in our school.”

Before the event, Denise had expressed some worries about her understanding of community cohesion. She was hoping that the training would help clarify matters but the I-poem seems to suggest that she was hoping for advice on practical educational matters. The foregrounding of the ICOCO and OFSTED standards for Denise thus seem to confuse Denise. This frustrates her in a search for social justice and she is unsure about what the purpose of this framework is in relation to her duties. While Denise initially saw the expertise of Erika as offering some clarity, as outlined in chapter six this did not come to pass. Rather it fore-grounded work on monitoring. However, the hands exercise counterpoint, produced signs of resistance, in which the learning mentors as a group produced a narrative that values community and belonging. Areas central to community cohesion work which many felt confident about as it allowed them to develop the family and partnership working which was integral to their role and involved building closer relationships with parents as well as the children, a site for possible emotion work.

The use of the plural ‘we’ in reference to work with Erika indicates a distancing from the policy makers and managers and therefore forms an entry for questioning particularly with the implied use of pressure “we *have* to do community cohesion” (author’s emphasis). While Denise was hoping for clarity about her role the changing policy landscape has provided a fluid backdrop which makes it difficult to pin down expectations and clarity of roles. Using the process of zooming out of and into the different scenes, this section has critically examined the setting to provide an interpretation of the ramifications of this policy landscape and its effects on practice about difference. It seems that there is no clear guidance about the practicalities of community cohesion. The spaces in which ‘race’ resides appears to be inhabited by policy and monitoring.

This allows the re-siting of the problematic, a key focus of IE in order to provide a ground-up examination based on informants’ experiences and views and for Denise a clear answer is her use of emotion. This is evidenced by a desire to be involved in education project work, rather than in the bureaucratic approach fore-grounded by Erika outlined through the community cohesion ‘duties’, an example of “institutional talk” (May 2002, p8) along with material on ‘bullying’ around on various ‘types’ of difference. While documentation on community cohesion often

refers to the phrase ‘promotion of shared values’, there is a contradiction in linking the work to bullying as the act of bullying seems rather to be one which occurs as result of ‘difference’, which invokes the *lack* of ‘shared values’. For Denise, work on pupil or parent conflict is an area that she feels more familiar with. She was keen to draw on using her skills to mediate, resulting in a conflation with her work on emotional learning. This has backing both in practice with the headteacher who is ‘championing’ the work and in policy materials (DfES 2005, 2006b). Denise undertook training on this, with the other learning mentors and acted as a school lead for the SEAL (DfES 2005, 2006b), which fitted well with her background in psychology. In this way, Denise finds herself suited to this work and is able to draw on her therapeutic skills. This has an affinity for her, she is an ardent advocate for approaches which can bring about changes in behaviour. This seems exemplified by her use of the poster to communicate with an upset boy as well as the gift to me of a Faulks’ novel (2008) and for her this seems to show a strong commitment of a duty to care for children, with whom she has emotional bonds.

Clearly set out above is the importance of emotion as an active element of social relations in the setting. However this accords less with Menter et al’s (2010) professional teacher identity that arguably focuses on duty and as we have seen with regard to race and difference through an examination of policy in this chapter seems to be veering to a deontological approach that casts this as a behavioural and individual issue. For Denise, this becomes informed through psychological theory and therapeutic approaches rather than a more critical, structural approach that examines the political and historical construction of ‘race work’. We saw in chapter three, how the critical spaces which allowed race and other modes of difference to be critiqued have become almost removed from the landscape, populated by policy and target-based work, clearly elevated by Erika’s approach.

Thus where there are shocks and puzzles of race they are surrounded by policy constructs such as the duties (DSCF/DCLG 2007) and are being cast as behavioural problems (DfES 2005a). For Denise her use of emotion therefore acts as a palliative in order to act as a cathartic. Rather than using reflection as a critical tool, the focus seems to be on attaining a calmer state. Thus knowledge that is brought to the situation is not ‘new’ knowledge from other sources but is more likely to be an

amalgamation of pre-existing knowledge from the social setting, which as we have seen with regard to race are populated by set procedures. Without a recourse to critical knowledge it is unlikely that Denise will be able to criticise set procedures, which as shown are part of the NPM approach to bureaucratising teaching and here in particular with regard to race and difference have produced some powerful work which produce the illusion rather than the 'substance' of critical race work.

6.5.2 CLOSING THOUGHTS

There are when producing ethnographic accounts of course multiple 'realities'. I accept unequivocally that alternative narratives are embedded in the settings. While 'anthropological', 'old school' ethnography involved detailed description which feigned to 'tell it like it is', the stories invariably failed in that the 'is' and the 'telling' of it were loaded with power, history, individual and group experiences. It was therefore marked by a

“dissatisfaction with cultural accounts of human actors in which broad social constraints like class, patriarchy, and racism never appear.” (Anderson 1989, p 249).

Critical ethnography (Anderson 1989; Gitlin et al 1989; Thomas 1993; Carspecken 1996; Carspecken and Walford 2001; Madison 2011) as it emerged and began to populate research stories with more 'subjective' experiences, filling some of these absences, to produce more 'balanced' accounts. This also necessitated a shift towards more 'qualitative' approaches, with a concomitant examination of the creative possibilities (Pink 2005; Butler-Kisber 2010) and of the foundations of these methods.

The work on feminist research (Duelli-Klein 1983; hooks 1984; Belenky et al 1986; Smith 1990; Harding 1991; Reinharz 1992 ; Stanley and Wise 1993; Harding 2004 ; Hesse-Biber 2007) standpoint theory (Harding 1993, 2004; Hill Collins 1989; Walby 2001; Mayall 2002; Letherby 2003) and on additional methods producing greater possibilities for accessing 'voice' were a direct application of qualitative research. It is possible that it will never be possible to provide an entirely complete or an 'objective' account. Critical realists accept that there exist the "possibility of alternative and valid accounts of any phenomenon." (Maxwell 2008, p164)

Summarising Denise's case study, while policy is fore-grounded, there is confusion about how it is used. The informal knowledge of events build on the material 'success' of multicultural 'performances' thereby becomes valued over curriculum. Erika further confuses them with a general discussion on 'inequality', where she subsumed many 'types' of difference. The additional conflation with bullying (DCSF/DCLG 2007) allows Denise to draw on her interest in emotion work with regard to race. Therefore, where puzzles arise they result in a turning to set ways of working rather than crafting new solutions.

CHAPTER 7

THE GOLDEN GIRL LOSES HER SHINE

7.1.1. INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter provided a direct focus on race work and a critique of related education policy. This second case-study builds on some of the problems of researching race which were outlined in chapters 3 and 5. The use of a qualitative phenomenological approach reaps some benefits as the changing nature of ‘race’ and its increasingly complex intersections with difference emerge, through an examination of Tasneem’s role as a year 5 teacher. Denise’s case-study focused directly on race work and possible shocks at targeted events, to discuss how much of this results in performative acting as a mask to conceal the lack of critically informed action. While the tide of post-racism seems to prevail (Lentin 2008, 2012a), central to CRT is a challenge to white normalcy and the supposed neutrality that are present in Western institutions. Thus, even though BME teachers are more common than at other times, their accounts increasingly are hidden.

This chapter produces a counter-story (Delgado 1989; Delgado and Stefancic 2001) to develop an ethnographic portrait (Bryman 2012) allowing the hidden day-to-day experiences of Tasneem to emerge to produce a counter-point to the supposedly meritocratic opportunities which currently exist for teachers. A key challenge of this chapter is unpicking ‘race’ in a ‘post-racial’ era. This is clearly problematic as Simien states, “*identity categories as gender, age, race, ethnicity, class, and sexuality are mutually constituted and cannot be added together*” (2007, p 266). Hill-Collins work on the matrix of domination (1990, 1993), developed by Crenshaw (1991) is particularly useful here and taken up by writers on ‘other’ differences (For examples see religion (Byng 1998) disability (McCall and Sktric 2009) and gender (Nash 2008), class (Gillborn 2012). This dovetails well with IE which uses an intersectional approach that does not reify particular categories and requires the use of narrative to depict the complexities of the inter-relationships. While I-poems provided entry to the situation, the process of analysis required additional tools to help unpick the intricacies and therefore an important aspect this

chapter is the use of emotional labour, from Hochschild (1983/2003). To analyse how dynamics of gender as well as race and other aspects of difference are constituted to produce a picture of the power relations in the setting.

7.1.2 OVERVIEW

This chapter focuses on the other key informant, Tasneem Koliwala a year five primary school teacher, in order to advance the research questions through examining the relationship between professional teacher identity, conceptions of race and reflection. Her deep concerns for social justice were highlighted in chapter five and how particularly around race, she sought to handle the associated complexities of religion, gender, and ethnicity in school. When I first met her, she came across as a confident and secure individual, as the study went on however, she began to disclose more dissatisfaction with her situation at work. She revealed how much of this had escalated after a change in the headship and management team. While there seems a desire for personal agency, this chapter details how this seems to be denied. A critical event early on provided entry to Tasneem's personal fears and to elaborate on her problem of now being cast as an outsider.

The chapter begins with a detailed exploration of the setting drawing on I-poems constructed from interviews and events in the setting. Drawing on IE (Smith 1987, 1990, 1999, 2005; Diamond 1992; Campbell and Gregor 2002; Campbell 2004; Walby 2006, 2012) a narrative is built, to explore how Tasneem constructs reflective spaces in response to her situation, both physically and metaphorically. It is essentially a realist account that flows from the first substantial interview and began by attempting to provide a linear 'tale' before being reconstructed. It is told mainly from Tasneem's perspective but it also makes use of the listening guide technique (Gilligan et al 2003; Walby 2012) on examining how tensions in usage between the first person and other characters appears in language and can be used to aid interpretation.

7.1.3. STUCK IN THE MIDDLE

Tasneem had expressed an interest in work on RP and race through ACT, who were running training for schools staff on work on community cohesion. Having telephoned her, I had a chat in which she seemed enthusiastic so I arranged to visit her at school and to initially observe her at an ACT training session where she played a very active part, attending with a colleague from school, Delia. Tasneem had taken the lead in making some pertinent comments to the wider group in which she argued for a more nuanced understanding of community cohesion, in which people are allowed to explore their own understandings of the term. She was the last to leave this event and we had a conversation about how she felt that she was a lone voice at school on race and participating in the study might help her to improve her skills. When working within the group she spoke very assuredly and seemed to have some authority. I felt that I had made a good choice with opportunities to observe a rich selection of diverse experiences.

Her deep concerns for social justice were highlighted in Chapter 4 and how particularly around race, she sought to handle the complexities of religion, ethnicity and race in school. The following I-poem shows some of her under-lying confidence.

I would say that
I mean one of the things
I didn't want this middle leadership role twelve years ago they **they**
wanted me to take it on 'cos
I was saying no no no they were sending all these messages

I went and sort of talked to my friend about
I said I really don't want **this**
I just want to be in the classroom
I want to be teaching
I am going to sacrifice a bit of my (p) **life** 'cos I'm going to have to put in
more some extra hours here

I've been middle leader for twelve years
I reflect and
I think 'I've been middle leader for twelve years that's a long time'

I am a middle leader that is ,
I enjoy the middle leadership one of my strengths that
I said to the head
I create a strong
I build a strong team and not me not you as an individual

She had been a middle manager for some time, much longer than most staff, twelve years. Seeing it primarily as a “*stepping stone*” in her first interview and whilst she had been supported in the past, as the study went on she disclosed her suspicion that the current headteacher Lloyd, who had been at the school two years, felt that she was not up to ‘scratch’. Tasneem had been assiduous in pursuing her goal of promotion, having begun the National Professional Qualification for Headship (NPQH) training, no small task, as she recognises in the I-poem but this as this chapter relates was not unproblematic.

Detailing Tasneem’s situation in a descriptive way allows the reader an entry to some of the possible positions that she takes, to examine relations of power within the school and how the social construction environment and staffing may impact on her using different “registers” (Clifford 1986). The key problematic was how Tasneem did not appear to ‘fit’ from the I-Poem in section (5.3.4) she had disclosed this in her first interview, fairly early on and this was at odds with my early impressions of her. Standing out, is a metaphor used by Tasneem in her first interview, where she describes herself as being made of impure gold⁵⁸, as the imperfections result in a greater solidity and provide more utility. This contrasts with her position as the study moved on in which she opened up and revealed more about her worries and why she was being “taken for granted”.

7.1.3 SETTING THE SCENE

Queens Lane is primarily made-up of children who are second and third generation from India, Pakistan and more recently Somali. The pupils are mainly Muslim but there are also a minority of Hindu and Christian faiths. The school has fourteen

⁵⁸ This cultural knowledge is shared with those from the Indian sub-continent where the value of gold is common to different religions and cultures. I am not sure if I would have got this reference if I didn’t have a South Asian heritage

teachers who are all white apart from Tasneem. The teaching staff with the exception of one year six teacher and the head Lloyd, are all female. In total there are twelve TAs, of whom four are of Pakistani and Indian origin and more recently one who is Somali. The rest are white and of these two are allocated as special needs TAs supporting individual children.

Particularly close to Tasneem is Sandra, a colleague of about the same age who is also interested in faith-based education. Sandra works part-time as a year four teacher, has been ordained as a priest and works with Tasneem on faith education working group. She spent time working in India for a charity when she was younger and this drew her to Tasneem, when she started at the school twelve years ago. Also close to Tasneem is Delia an early years' teacher, who is younger and had been teaching for eight years in the school. Delia undertook a PGCE after acquiring a HND in Childhood Studies at the local university college. Tasneem sees her as an ally who she is 'mentoring' to take over her role on community cohesion. They both had been involved in going on and delivering training on this. When I spoke to Delia she said that most of the training had been via Tasneem and the work with ACT, which they had both attended, she had not discussed it with Lloyd directly.

Tasneem also had good relationships with the two other year four and five teachers Kit and Zoe with whom she planned work, they regularly walked in and out of each other's classrooms, as they neighboured each other on the corridor, to borrow items and exchange messages. I had attended a topic planning meeting where they all three worked together very jovially.

Tasneem's parents were from the Seychelles, which has a large Indian population and she spoke Gujarati at home, my mother-tongue also. And so, when we met we had an additional connection. She was born abroad, coming to the UK when she was very young. She is a practising Muslim and at school she wears a hijab.

7.2 PAINTING THE PROBLEMATICS

7.2.1 TAINTED GOLD – NOT JUST AN ADORNMENT

While the original intention was to proceed in a linear fashion in order to aid analysis it becomes necessary to draw on diverse elements of which helps to bring together some of the different aspects involved. Using this approach allows data from the study to be interrogated to explore some of the context. The re-sequencing also allows the data to be made sense of with Tasneem's concerns at the centre.

When I arrived at school in the morning mid-way through the study, Tasneem smiled and brightly greeted me with some good news. The school had recently had an OFSTED in which they had received a grade 2⁵⁹ for community cohesion and were close to receiving a '1' but were not deemed to have had 'sufficient international links' in the report. There was a special assembly with parents in attendance, the children had put on a presentation about 'community cohesion' where the head had publicly praised Tasneem and she was quite chipper. She was going on some leadership training run by the National College for School Leadership (NCSL) later that day and feeling positive about it. While Tasneem had disclosed to me at the outset that she was looking for another job, she had in my first interview with her, showed her introspection about herself and the following I-poem emerged at the time

I went for an interview
I didn't get it
I got back here again one of the staff said to me don't see it in a
negative "you're gold to us" she said it in Gujarati "hona ni chhe" and
I went away

I went away
I didn't really think about it but then it kept coming back to me so
I wrote it down
I went back to it a couple of days later
I thought ...gold

⁵⁹Schools are rated on a scale from 1-4 with 1 being the best

As she was disclosing this to me in the interview she began to appear a little coy as if she was worried about ‘blowing her own trumpet’ too hard. She said to me smiling brightly and beginning to become animated “*I think this is really off the wall nobody does this*”, she paused and took a long breath “*it is **too** introverted, you shouldn’t do this ‘cos it’s not healthy even*” I got the feeling that she was revealing something to me that was very private. Though as she spoke, Tasneem had been in full flow, as if she wanted to show me her reflective credentials and the following extract surfaced, produced verbatim, with hardly a pause for breath about her colleague’s comments

“Right ok the thing is when you’re pure er when when people don’t buy pure gold because it’s too soft and malleable, a metal yeah you’re right OK. I was thinking no off course they don’t buy it they don’t buy it, they don’t buy it for jewellery . I’m not, so therefore I’m not adornment, I’m not so people will not see but people do buy pure gold but they buy it for investment. So, so she started the train of thought that ‘cos I started thinking about about what qualities I’ve got that make me gold.”

This provided a deeply metaphorical way of thinking about herself but also one that seemed to supply an analytical approach to her situation. The allusion to being ‘gold’ may have produced the shyness but her explanation about the impurity was also a cultural reference, which being of Indian origin I ‘got’ very quickly. While the value of gold in Indian culture is popular knowledge, the intricacies of the levels of purity are perhaps less well known and while 24 carat has the most monetary value, to make jewellery, it needs to be of a lower grading otherwise it can break. Tasneem seems to imply that she is stronger by having imperfections. She giggled as she made this revelation.

This came back to me when we had emerged from assembly, sat on the far side of the hall from me Tasneem had smiled at me and it seemed that despite her problems, she had achieved a small accolade. This was a high profile event, many parents were present as well as pupils from a ‘twin’, mainly white school. Tasneem’s class had offered a multicultural presentation about belonging and race. Holding up placards with the words “COMMUNITY COHESION”, “FRIENDSHIP” and “PROUD”, with I’ll Be There by the Jackson 5 playing in the background. This held a strongly

‘performative’ aspect like the Loxley Governors’ Training dance performance and created a similar emotional feeling.

As we walked back, she was explaining excitedly to a colleague that they had only just missed out on the top grade. She told me she was looking forward to visiting her sister who was studying in Alexandria in Egypt so overall she seemed very cheery and this followed on into the morning’s maths lesson, which she delivered with gusto as if somehow energised.

Later on a child with special needs Taruna, misbehaves in class and Tasneem, who thinks there are some possible domestic violence issues at the child’s house sends her out with Miss Miller, the SNTA⁶⁰, to calm her down with the support of the deputy head. I hardly noticed that she had gone. At lunch break, after the children have been dismissed, Miss Miller returns and when Tasneem enquired if Taruna misbehaved due to her diet, she replied no, “Taruna was just trying it on”. After Miss Miller leaves, Tasneem reiterates that there may be a personal issue at home for Taruna. We begin to discuss the assembly, she smiles and says “that was the first public thank you from the head”. Tasneem is thinking about her leadership style and she asks me “How do you get to be like the head?” I reply that it is important to find a style that suits yourself rather than emulating others. Tasneem says that since attending the NCSL⁶¹ course the head has let her take charge of the Arts team and sees this as a pay-off. She says that she doesn’t mind conflict and it is important to ‘have it all out’.

Just at this point the deputy head comes in the door. She holds the door ajar, and stands there glaring at Tasneem. She gives me a brief glance. We were sat at the opposite end of the class room about seven metres away, perching on child-size chairs, and she says very abruptly and loudly right across the length of the room.

“Did you deal with Taruna before you sent her to me?” Tasneem says, “ I asked Miss Miller to deal with it.” The deputy head shouts “Did **YOU** deal with it. (p) Well next time **YOU** deal with it first.”

⁶⁰ Special Needs Teaching Assistant

⁶¹ National College for School Leadership

This is over in a matter of seconds, then she is gone. Tasneem is quite for a moment and says that the deputy head is responsible for discipline and does not have a class to teach. She says “that's how it is” there is a long silence.

I feel a little bit shocked and upset for Tasneem. One minute she is on a high about the public thanks, thinking about how she can improve her capabilities, she had enjoyed delivering a lesson then suddenly, is brought crashing back to earth. I really feel for Tasneem – she is totally crestfallen - this seemed a minor incident and the deputy head does not seem intent on discussing it further. She was aware also that I was an external researcher and did not ask to see Tasneem separately in private. I felt that this was very confrontational, unprofessional and would increase the distance that Tasneem felt from the school.

If as Tasneem stated, the TA had not followed her instructions then an investigation should have taken place but the deputy's reactions showed that she had already made up her mind. While this study is not examining this area directly, the inter-working relationship of the TA and teachers offers interesting opportunities for research⁶². In a horizontal management structure, increasingly common in education often responsibilities are not clear when conflicts occur. The role of managing the TAs is an interesting one in that they are not responsible directly to the class teacher although their day-to-day work is in class and normally report to a senior manager. Tasneem claimed to manage the team but this was unlikely, while she may co-ordinate and guide TAs, a senior manager would normally be responsible for line management. Using aggressive tactics forces the junior staff to solve problems amongst themselves rather than approach senior managers for help or advice. While this is a single example, Tasneem had discussed other confrontations that had taken place with the management team too and this provides an illustration of a material evidence, showing her relationship with a senior manager. It also opens up the problematic about how her treatment in the school may contribute to her feelings

⁶² While the benefits of flatter or horizontal management in schools are lauded (Hartley and Allison 2000; Gronn 2002; Kelly 2002; Powell 2002; PWC 2007) the effect can be a distancing with less clarity of who to turn to for specific guidance, particularly where major changes such as Remodelling the Workforce (OFSTED:2005) have attempted a Fordist reinvention of schools in the pursuit of efficiency (Gunter:2007)

about the work environment and seeing herself as being impure ‘gold’ with the implication that she needs to be toughened via the impurities. This episode seemed distant from my first impressions of Tasneem and I wanted to see what contributed to the very different public persona that had become subdued.

7.2.2. ANOTHER TRIGGER - OBSERVATIONAL ANGUISH

Towards the end of my study, I was observing the class during a mathematics lesson, when near the end of the session the head came in unannounced and sat at the back for less than 10 minutes before asking the children some questions and leaving. The following is taken from my notes

As she packs up Tasneem discloses that the head had come to 'observe her. He wants to stop her taking the Year 5 class. She has been applying for jobs elsewhere. She looks very upset, close to tears. It seems 'fait accompli'. The head has suggested that her mathematics teaching is not up to par. Tasneem has her suspicions that the head wants to create his own preferred team and is looking for a pretext. She tells me that many of the staff are leaving or retiring.

She is going to visit another school this lunch-time (about a vacancy). She had an interview recently but the post went to an internal candidate.

The strength of standpoint in moving from description to analysis is that it acknowledges the feelings of Tasneem that in a study less concerned with power relations would not be able to link these disparate episodes. We cannot tell the whole story however, the seven days of observation took place at random and so the story that emerges will be a hybrid. Tasneem's unhappiness requires analysing

within the social relations of the school. Having been rebuffed, by both the head and the deputy, the dilemma of who to approach, when there seems no middle ground appears to generate difficulties for Tasneem resulting in an impasse. The language and actions of the managers seem outside of her way of acting. In primary schools the training needs would, be normally assessed by the management team acting together, often based on the annual appraisal. Her feelings of being singled out make her personal development, a responsibility of the senior management team, particularly problematic and the internal politics of the school are unlikely to result in a mutually agreed diagnosis.

Tasneem suspects that Lloyd sees her as ‘past her prime’ he is only a few years younger than her, has joked about her age and has commented on positions elsewhere that she has failed to secure. When challenged he said to her ‘*I know that you feel you are being left by the wayside*’ after citing instances of internal opportunities that have been allocated to other members of staff she failed to be satisfied and when she challenged him about this he claimed to be supportive. He indicated that one of her weaknesses was by her initiating a dialogue, he said that she should not ‘*verbalise her opinions so much*’ a leader for Lloyd needed to demonstrate surety and keep a distance, while Tasneem sees open debate as an asset and integral to her way of working. This could be depicted as a patriarchal way of working.

One of the areas where they had differed is about the wearing of the veil in France and Tasneem defended the right of women to wear them recalling the discussion afterwards she says

“I am not being subjugated it is a decision that I have made and I want it it's liberating because that is **my** values. **They** are judging me by **their** values , oh this is subjugation of women.”

The use of the third person is interesting in that Tasneem discusses ‘*their values*’ and this seems to confirm her feelings of not fitting. While she denies there is any direct discrimination, it appears that the difference is between Tasneem and senior managers and not just Lloyd. Given the small size of the management team (two

staff) and the public knowledge that Tasneem is trying to gain promotion, the incidents show that they are not inclined to see her as a fit manager and this seems not just an individual but also a joint response. Thus the application of mechanisms of teacher assessment seem to be about showing her inability to perform, while positive independent support such as that of Tasneem's mentor and her success in the community cohesion work seem to cut little ice. Incidents such as those with the deputy head and her 'observation' seem to demonstrate her lack of 'classroom management' skills and possibly confirm their suspicions.

A year after my observations ended, Tasneem was written up as a case-study of an outstanding middle-leader by a national education management organisation. Thus, the potential of Tasneem seems to have been a subjective one on the part of the head and the management team of the school. In the 'observation' by Lloyd from above I asked Tasneem in her final interview about this (despite having spent much time on perfecting it) and she told Lloyd, self-effacingly her plan was 'rubbish' but actually thought it was 'brilliant' and in fact it went very well. However, she felt again that Lloyd picked on this as an example of her lack of confidence.

"I said the thing is I will **never** think that I am good enough that is **my** personal opinion and I said, he said you shouldn't share that with anybody else. And I said but I **haven't** I told **you**, he said you should only share that with me."

She stated that she thought Lloyd sees her personal criticism of herself as a weakness and when she discussed this with her colleagues, they felt that she should not have been so open. The consideration of the racial, cultural and female ways of knowing may be useful here. The professional knowledge that Lloyd and the senior management team seem to fit very much with a 'strong and assured' approach. This seems to be at odds with Tasneem, who values honesty and dialogue

"So I said to him, look Lloyd and the thing is at the end of the day you need to role model. Er you know, er I I what I am doing is role-modelling to others that there are areas that I know I need to work on. And I said and don't you want your staff to be honest? You're only going to get that honesty, if you are honest with **them** (p). And he said **no**, that is only something that you should only share with me. (p)"

There is a need to analyse this statement in relation to gender, race and culture. Tasneem takes a pride and goes to some lengths to prepare lessons but when approached directly begins by criticising herself. This can be attributed perhaps to cultural and gender factors. For some Asian communities, there is a cultural conditioning which does not allow the taking of praise. This may be a difficulty in combining personal and professional identity.

Tasneem's distancing had been exacerbated by the arrival of Lloyd. I was interested in how the gender divide had been played out by this. One of the ways in which this was evident was in the use of the third person, evident at a team meeting on arts development meeting where almost every other sentence referred to "he" and although physically absent, there was clearly a presence (Foucault 2005, pp3-18) of the head through the language of the meeting. The use of the third person demonstrated the ways in which control is manifested and this is put to work below.

7.2.3 DIGGING DEEPER WITH POETRY

Using a much longer I-poem taken from my final interview with Tasneem and examining the usage of the first person provides access to some strong emotions on her part. I realised that Lloyd's presence was visible in the text from the interview and showed a gender divide. This is developed into a dialogue by interspersing some of the ways in which Tasneem 'voices' Lloyd and this offers possibilities for unpicking the situation. It is taken linearly from the interview providing a powerful way of examining social positioning.

I Said, He Said,

I think
I must have been showing it afterwards
I went into his office
he said "to me are you free"
I said oh
I am

he said "look the thing is the last governors' meeting that we had the chair of
governors noticed that you were a bit down"
I said what did you tell them
he said "oh I said to them it might be the passing of the age"

I'm getting old-er
I'd just had a birth day and
he was like implying
I think it will become clearer in the rest of the conversation
I had with him

he said that he told them that
I'd had a few setbacks, which
I had
I hadn't got the jobs
I was looking for

I looked at him in disbelief
I said
I can't
I can't believe that you said that to them, it's got nothing to do with age

I'll tell you how
I felt in that meeting the governor's meeting
I said the assistant head is leading cluster groups for literacy
the literacy co-ordinator is leading cluster groups for writing and you are
talking about teachers who are leading other schools
I just felt like I might just as well just go home pack up and go home really

he said "I know you feel as if you, I know you feel as if you are being left by the
wayside"

I said but Lloyd
I am a year three and four teacher
I have been leading the assessment
I have been leading that
I said
I should have been doing it

he didn't say anything
he said "there is nothing more that I want to see than you er you know get the
post that you want"

I just sort of said look
I know
I have got issues
I know there are issues
I need to address
I know there are things about my leadership style
I need to address

he said not to verbalise your opinions so much

I am an opinionated person
I need to er what was it
I summarised it as so what you are saying
Lloyd is "oh yeah shut up and be clear" he says, he thinks that
I have 'clarity of expression' that's what he feels, so
I don't know
I said to him
I really don't understand you because
I am leading this stuff

he thinks I am stupid I'm thick whatever

I said, the thing is
I have taken on board everything that you have said
I said it is a two way thing
I said you have to do
I will do all of that but within these four walls
I want to be
I need to say what I think within these four walls
I'll act out there on the corridor, not verbalise my opinions but
I should be able to say what
I think in front of you

he said that's OK as long as it is not in front of the other assistant heads

Tasneem is clearly angry about the apportionment of the responsibilities. All the work that Tasneem was leading or keen to lead the community cohesion role, the ‘every child a writer⁶³’ and the literacy work were being given to younger and in one case quite inexperienced member of staff. Zoe, mentioned earlier was being given the literacy role that Tasneem had wanted to carry out, her exasperation is evident.

“I just felt like I might just as well just go home pack up and go home really.”

There is a hint of ageism by Lloyd in the first section of the poem. I was not able to interview Lloyd who is in his early thirties much younger than many of the staff and thus questions arise about how age and gender divisions are situated. Lloyd has also been obstructive when Tasneem was trying to gain additional qualifications and it was only on the intervention of her mentor, an African-Caribbean deputy head that she was permitted to go on the NPQH training. The clearest element that emerges though is that while Tasneem’s upbraiding appears popular knowledge, via Tasneem’s discussions with her colleagues and possibly within the management team. Lloyd is reluctant publicly to take criticism from Tasneem. While Tasneem affirms her right to do this privately, in her reflective space “*these four walls*” he wants this to remain solely between him and Tasneem.

Taken from this poem is how the use of the third person ‘he’ produces an interesting overview of the dynamics. In which Lloyd while supposedly supporting Tasneem does not provide any concrete actions to carry this out but is more intent on ensuring that her challenges do not become broader knowledge. The incident with the deputy head also increases the distance where disproportionate use of aggression prevents teachers being able to discuss problems with senior managers. Given that in schools the training role sits with the management team, if the prevailing view is that Tasneem is ‘failing’ it is unlikely that she will be given support and accords with the supervision and mentoring problems discussed in chapter 2. 7. Present in this poem are traces of intersectionality as age, religion and gender come into play, this will be picked up later in this chapter.

⁶³ Every Child a Writer was a government initiative in partnership with the UK Literary Association which aimed to improve whole class teaching of writing.

7.2.4 THE COLLEAGUE'S VIEW

After the deputy head incident, later in the day I went to see Tasneem. She discussed a lot of personal issues around her conflict with the head teacher and she had gone over this with Sandra, who in another conversation with me had disclosed that he told Tasneem not to apply for the deputy headship last year, she did anyway but he gave it to an ex-colleague from a previous school. Over the study, Tasneem cited a number of instances where she feels he has been obstructive and has not supported her in her professional development. I ended up feeling on one occasion as if I had counselled Tasneem at this time she was very upset, sometimes close to tears and I gave her lots of positive reinforcement. I asked her if she thought that it was institutional racism but Tasneem did not feel it was that simple. She said that the head was “*working class and had done well*”. However given that he had asked her not to criticise him in public, with a virtually all female staff team there may perhaps be other factors of gender, race and religion at play but it appears clear that patriarchy is present in the decision-making process.

Tasneem found much support in Sandra a close colleague, who had volunteered to meet with me after having expressed an interest in my research on reflection and asked to be interviewed. When I met with her, she disclosed that she had been ordained as a minister and found the notion of reflection attractive. In particular, she found that she reflected in the company of Mona who was her ‘spiritual adviser’ and had been a youth worker. She discusses how she found it supportive, as Mona doesn’t “tell me the answer as such”. Immediately after this statement she outlines staff reactions,

“Sometimes people are defensive, in school we are aware that we are being judged. We have lots of observation. The fear of being judged makes us defensive. There is lots of observation, Lloyd is into grading people, it's a lot more formal than five years ago. The feedback is 85% good ... but it's more judgemental.”

In Sandra’s statements, there is a sequencing, in which the process of observing and being judged produces a defensive outlook and is not seen purely as a developmental process. Sandra is aware of Tasneem’s difficulties, this details the scrutiny that she feels the staff are under. There is an interesting counterpoint here

for Sandra, the feedback from observation seems non-negotiable with the head's judgement being final, this contrasts with being led (for Sandra) with Mona and links to the notion of the elenchus⁶⁴ where a student is asked questions to lead them to an answer. She gave me a copy of a thought for the day from Radio 4 (Fraser 2009) in which health professionals are being pressured to meet targets at a hospital, how it had failed an inspection and how a more humanist and theistic response is required to connect with clients and patients. Thus, the appraisal process, while being touted as a developmental, one is patently not seen as one by the staff.

The fact that there has been an attempt to dissuade Tasneem from pursuing the management training or going for promotion indicates that the present managers may feel that she is not adequately prepared to advance or possibly even maintain her career. This demonstrates the ways in which ruling relations operate. Tasneem is seen as not being up to the job by the management team and if this was the case she should be provided with guidance and support, however the joint reaction seems to be that it is 'wasteful' to support her training. There is a reluctance to allow her on the NPQH, which requires much private time for studying and the intervention of her mentor is, viewed by management, to be at odds with Tasneem's position in the school. Tasneem seems browbeaten and is worried about beginning to believe the prevailing views and this is why she does not fit. Thus, the concerns of not fitting in or being unable to adequately carry out the role, seem to show that this is an organisationally mediated outcome.

The poem and Sandra's input demonstrates some of the traces of intersectionality. Rather than applying a single lens of 'race', differing aspects of identity present themselves. Age, class, religion and gender are meshed in the setting. Sandra's support for Tasneem began through a mutual interest in faith and this generated joint work in the classroom that was valued by the management at the time. As Lloyd came on the scene, there is a perceptible change in management style, "grading people" which seems less interested in creating work on 'tolerance and understanding' and is more directive. Sandra infers this in the 'judgemental' approach and the increase in 'observation'. Although Tasneem seems bent on

⁶⁴Section 2.2.4

improving her position, her suspicion is that she is now out of favour and for the management team, this seems poor use of her time as in their opinion the day-to-day teaching is not up to scratch. Having labelled her as ‘underperforming’ there is a lack of clarity about how this is to be addressed. In the I-poem Tasneem sees her responsibilities being whittled down, there is no support to ‘improve’ her skills though. Were this to be present then perhaps her feelings of not ‘fitting’ may have been assuaged.

While strong leadership is often cited as a means to eliminate ‘poor practice’ (DfES 2001), less clear is the sustained support for staff whose skills may need development. Thus the effective teacher discourse (Menter et al 2010) as I commented on in chapter 2 has been accompanied by the removal of teacher development opportunities not just in relation to race but across the board. Lloyd is able to use, religion, age and gender as a tool to undermine Tasneem but when she makes her protestations public, finds herself admonished. In this way, challenges to ‘strong leadership’ results in isolation.

7.2.5 TRYING TO BUILD BRIDGES - RESISTING BUT HELPING AS WELL, RACE WORK IN ACTION

I would like to return here to a key counterpoint, while Lloyd sees Tasneem’s classroom teaching as problematic her performance as the community cohesion coordinator and as judged by OSTED seems less problematic. These contrapuntal voices (Walby 2012) enable us to see key elements in the social construction of Tasneem’s professional identity.

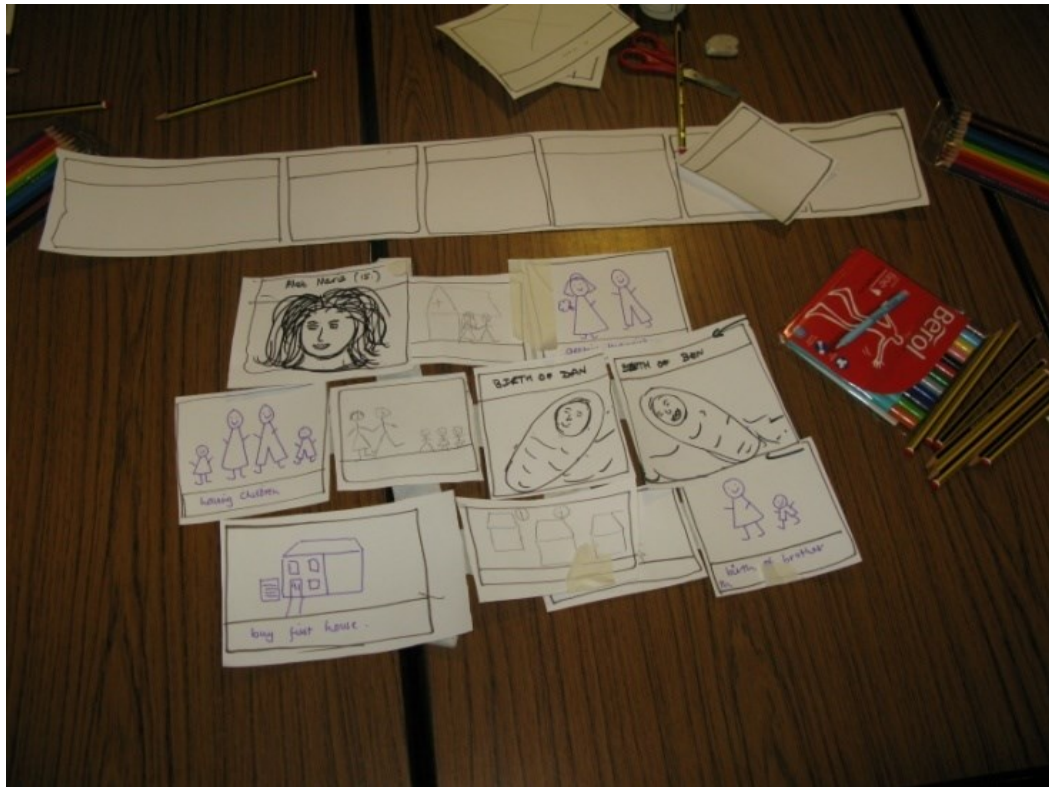
A key puzzle for Tasneem was her concerns about the separation between the Somali and Asian children evident in the I-poem in chapter 5, she made the suggestion that led to the school employing a TA of Somali-origin. Additionally she pushed for more Somali representation on the governing body, discussing it with the head. She saw education as a way to work around race. *“I think if these children don’t learn about justice and equality how are they going to practice it out there”*, which seems to fit in with her rationale for entering her profession. It was also evident in her practice, on one occasion she very pointedly led a lesson in which the

meaning of Hanukkah was clearly explained to the class, having gone through the plan with me in detail when I arrived in the morning. She had taken care to explain to the children the similarities between the Islamic and Jewish faiths. Therefore, Tasneem seemed concerned not only with racism faced by the Asian children but about the effects of their personal prejudices on others. While this could be attributed to ‘interviewer’ effect in which the participant changes their behaviour (Denscombe 2010, p178), the frequency of Tasneem’s interactions on equality issues seemed to belie this.

Furthermore her worries about this had been expressed at the ACT training where, she described her ideas of working on a cookbook not just for school but to involve the local mosques in this way building bridges in the local community as well as at Queen’s Lane. She had mentioned how, when not having been fully accepted at the established mosque, the Somali population had had to set up their own. She made a point of speaking to Somali parents when the children left at the end of the day. These seemed to show that Tasneem was aware of divisions within the Muslim community that is seen by many as being homogenous. In this was she seemed the embodiment of the slogan that she had chosen to use for the staff training on community cohesion as the opening slide.

“In the heart of the community with the community in its heart”

I attended an after- school training session run by Tasneem and her colleague Delia, who was supposed to be taking over the community cohesion work later, at the head’s request. I noted the ritual citation of the Equality Duties (Home Office 2003) and the guidance (DCSF/DCLG 2007), present at the events attended by Denise. However, it was quite subtle much more professionally executed than Denise’s experience in chapter 6. It got everybody talking about what it meant to them, through the use of a creative exercise utilising personal cartoon ‘strips’ of life events.



Fig

Fig 7a

The point was to show to staff that despite coming from different communities shared many aspects of life in common such as marriages, births, attending university. Most of the staff, after complaining about the touchy-feely warm-up exercises seemed to get involved and really enjoyed this way of working, feeling much closer as a result. With the exception of one member of staff Prue, who said that “my private life is private”. Tasneem had experienced difficulties with Prue and she discussed these with me later highlighting how they had had a difference of opinion about her wearing the hijab.

“For instance it annoys her that I dress like that or it annoys her that I practice (Islam), or it annoys her that em just a lot of different things annoyed her like positive discrimination annoyed her. All sorts of things annoyed her but the thing is it's not the direct things that affect you more it is the indirect (p). So for example how that would come out is she didn't like it if I knew my stuff about literacy, she was the literacy co-ordinator she needed to know more than I did. She was white, she was middle-class she was, you know I shouldn't know about how phonics is taught. So therefore erm, it would be an opportunity to er put me down in a meeting but she never managed it “

Thus Tasneem's feelings are that there is an implicit superiority of Whiteness (Gillborn 2009; Leonardo 2009) for Prue, whose heritage and class for her should equip her with an almost innate knowledge of phonics.

It seems that Tasneem has the respect of the staff team and later on in a topic planning meeting when one of her younger colleagues Zoe the year four teacher, is working with her to plan a twinning session with a 'white' school. Zoe asks if it might be appropriate to request Asian children to bring 'artefacts' and come to school in 'traditional dress'. Tasneem listens attentively and briefly hesitates saying that this is perhaps a bit "old hat", Zoe nods and asks me for suggestions instead. Zoe had qualified three years ago and seemed to be floundering for ways of making the session work. When I spoke to Tasneem about this she said

"In my head I was thinking oh god don't want to. er this is another stereotype that we are kind of promoting (p) em. And I was thinking that I don't want to squash this girl (referring to Zoe) because she has come up with an idea and I want her to feel (p) inspired. I've been there myself, you've got an idea someone squashes it and that's it, you never open up to that person ever again."

So Tasneem was sensitive about challenge, particularly of her colleagues and while these can be seen as instances of 'ignorance' on the part of staff there is in the first instance, with Prue an element of the 'everyday' racism (Essed 1991) in which small instances build up to reinforce institutional racism.

Finishing off the community cohesion session Tasneem ensured that it ended clearly with a practical focus and how it could be linked directly into their work, with a further planning session on using termly action plans. While apparently jointly planned I noticed that Tasneem took charge of leading most of the session, was more familiar with the material and in directing events than Delia. When I had interviewed Delia and had asked her about her understanding of theory and policy in education she seemed to display little awareness. Her training she implied covered little of this. She had been planning to undertake some training with the LEA

equalities advisor but he had left and was not going to be replaced. She therefore saw Tasneem as her sole source of information on community cohesion.

Tasneem's expertise and talents in race education and curriculum development are clear from the above but seem not to be valued. This may be attributable to the moments of race, where 'mainstream' teaching takes precedence. However, she clearly demonstrates transferrable skills and enthusiasm for teaching. The puzzle here is why Tasneem feels that she does not fit, she was confident about her work, very enthusiastic, dealt with staff sensitively and had a nuanced understanding about how to develop her specialism. She demonstrated management expertise, showing an explicit ability to lead a team, to draw on policy guidance, use participative educative principles and produce a creative method of embedding work into the curriculum. This could be seen as one time when Tasneem 'fits' but Lloyd has taken the decision to remove this role from her.

7.3 TURNING TO REFLECTIVE SPACE – COPING MECHANISMS

The previous section highlighted the problematic of how an ostensibly confident teacher such as Tasneem is facing a decline and has dealt with shocks and puzzles along the way. This section explores how she uses reflective spaces and to help her work through the issues that arise for her.

7.3.1 HITTING THE BARRIERS

In contrast to Denise's examples of race work there was less visible presence of policies on teacher assessment in relation to Tasneem and while schools have formal procedures, these were not available. Tasneem had commented how the annual appraisal process came up every year but felt this monitoring process barely touched her. The advantage of carrying out participant observation (Spradley 1980; Atkinson and Hammersley 1994; Wolcott 1995; Diamond 2005; Delamont 2007) is that it allows different avenues to be explored. Tasneem's puzzle presented a real mystery and a clear concern for her. As with Denise the photographs taken by Tasneem opened up the problematic as I had set her the task of taking images of places that she found conducive to reflection.

She was interviewed about the images below and thus the term 'photo-elicitation', is most apt. (Collier and Collier 1986; Harper 1993; El Guindi 1998; Banks 2001; Bolton et al 2001; Clark-Ibáñez 2004; Rose 2007). Using pictures generated by the user (Harper 2002; Knowles and Sweetman 2004; Bignante 2010), forces them to make choices about what elements are most important and the discussion allows an interrogation of both the spaces and the attachment to them. This is a powerful method of re-connecting the informant with the phenomena under investigation. Four main spaces were discussed, (not all shown for reasons of space) on two in school (Figs. 7b, 7c) and two at home (Fig. 7d). The first space identified below by Tasneem was a vacant office. Not depicted are a kitchen area and Tasneem's bedroom.



Fig 7b



Fig 7c

"It's a small office (p) people don't disturb you as much when you are in there. If I was in my classroom trying to work or **think** (p), especially when I have got a deadline to meet it's quite er (p) confidential as well so you know if somebody walks in there and you want to open up to them. You can in that room, I don't know I just feel that I can in that room"

This evokes a feeling of solitude, one which is conducive to allowing Tasneem to express her feelings and a place she can go to, to mull things over, in some ways a sanctuary. She uses the space to pray at work and also when she is feeling down, she goes there. Following the incident with the deputy head she said

"I know I do go in there when I get there are times when I go in there when I am really upset as well and I am trying to work my feelings and emotions through as well.

I just kind of feel that If I am in there with somebody and I just want to talk about things I find it more comfortable (p). Even if it is the head and I want to talk something through with him and it is confidential (p), I will open up in that I don't know, I tend to open up in that room ."

So in some senses it represents a confessional space, she had a "heart-to-heart meeting" with Lloyd, which produced the extended I-poem in the last section. She also invited colleagues to come in when she wanted to say things in private. When I was interviewing Tasneem for the last time about the small office, she stated that when things '*get too much for her*' she would go in and look out of the window. Her initial reaction therefore seems to be one requiring a cathartic act as she works on her 'feelings and emotions' so it appears that 'safety' is needed before she can move on. There is therefore a drawing on of internal and social knowledge. This seems at odds with Schön's ideas of practitioners constructing experiments. While there seem perhaps to be some of the 'discomforts, dilemmas and problematics' that were referred to in chapter two, rather than becoming automatic it seems that Tasneem needs some time to come to terms with events. She would also try to find Sandra or Delia the teachers that she is closest to in the school. This prompted me to ask if she got upset a lot

"I have been for the last three years yeah (p). Erm yeah (p) I think if you have constantly got someone saying that you are er not a good leader or implying that you are not a good leader it kind of gets to the stage that I am not any good. And I don't feel that I am valued but it's more than not feeling valued, it is almost like well perhaps I shouldn't be doing what I am doing then {softly} (P). Why am I here it er you you start believing it don't you?"

She detailed instances when she felt that she had been passed over for various responsible roles in school and this was a factor in her applying for jobs elsewhere as she felt that promotion internally was unlikely. She was puzzled by the gradual loss of support from the school and mused about this. Tasneem thought that Lloyd had some insecurity in his role and this set her thinking

“I was sat on this chair 'cos I was angry through this process and I was sat on this chair and what I thought about it was that they are saying that they don't agree with. But they are basing it on their value system (p) and my values are different and that got me onto something and that's how I misunderstand Lloyd and how he misunderstands me. 'Cos he is judging me by his value systems and er values and I am judging him by my value systems. I don't know, I don't know the answer (P). I was thinking why don't they understand? And the link between something from my experience and that would and the only thing from my experience when no-one has understood me, is Lloyd (laughs). Never had any problems with anybody else.”

Prominent here is the use of the third person Tasneem is at a loss to understand her position and presents here a detailed analysis not of personalities but of values, demonstrating a deep examination. The puzzle for her is why Lloyd does not value her. Gleaned from observing Tasneem there are a number of incidents which demonstrate some of the contradictions that exist for her career advancement. Tasneem is being asked to 'coach' another member of staff as the literacy co-ordinator, which is a position she has been doing but will be removed from and one that she does not want to drop. She has been on an NCSL leadership course but was only given this opportunity after her mentor intervened with Lloyd directly. Tasneem has also been given the joint leadership role of the community cohesion co-ordinator and she worked with Delia to run some very effective training which went down very well with the whole staff team, contributing to their OFSTED assessment. The contradiction with allocating her a role in leading on community cohesion and also be asked to 'coach' the literacy co-ordinator seem to belie the view that she is not capable as a teacher. The key problem is that in her teaching duties. Tasneem has, according to Lloyd, suspected weaknesses in her delivery of mathematics, the 'observation' in section 7.2.2., is an account of this.

It seems that there is a view on the part of the management team or at least by the head that Tasneem is not able to carry out her role in the classroom sufficiently well. This necessitates an examination of the mechanisms by which staff are appraised in the school, Tasneem found these once yearly meetings ‘unhelpful’. The mechanisms to support Tasneem in improving her skills were not evident.

7.3.2 BROADER REFLECTIVE SPACE

Having focused and opened up the problematic, we are more aware of Tasneem’s position and it is useful to explore broader conceptions of reflective space drawing on the visual data.



Fig 7d

The main space that Tasneem identified was in her conservatory at home. In which she had a rocking chair. This space also has a spiritual air as she placed her prayer mat here

“I have got my rosary beads that I often put on the floor not all of the time anymore, I don't have the time anymore. But they are there and after I have finished my prayers it is just my thinking times with my rosary beads (p). And (p) I was going to take it but then I thought it is too (p), it's reflective but it's too kind of er religious stroke spiritual em related.”

The exploration of photographs provided a spur for Tasneem to relate accounts of events in the school and of her feelings and emotions in relation to them. The use of the photographs to elicit material provided a rich stream of data, giving access to explore the ‘metaphorical’ space that Tasneem is creating for her to reflect in. and how it allows her to come to terms with the everyday problems. She spoke at length about being able to firstly internalise her thoughts and this seemed to tie into the puzzlement or shocks that she faces in her day-to-day work. A number of times for Tasneem she reflected by physically gazing at things, she mentioned the views outside the window, the notices in the small office and just staring into space in the kitchen area and thus her mind it seemed was elsewhere.

“I look up at the notices they're just always there and I do look up at them whilst I am thinking (p). And I'll be kind of reading them but because they are so meaningless, it doesn't matter (laughs).”

In Tasneem’s accounts there is little sense of additional “new knowledge” being generated which Schön suggests is triggered when professionals come across problems, she seems to need some sort of respite to gather her thoughts. The shock initially seems to be something to come to terms with and it appears that Tasneem’s first need is a sense of catharsis. The fact that she draws on spirituality seems poignant, given the connection with retreat and a recourse to the internal. Her Muslim identity had been both the source of support for her personally but also while not articulated openly her wearing of the hijab had been commented on by her colleagues and Lloyd at one stage had intimated indirectly that he found this problematic after agreeing that he supported the veil ‘ban’ in France.

7.3.3 INTERRUPTIONS

While Tasneem provided me with photographs, an unexpected aspect from the observations that emerged, was the frequency with which interruptions took place during her lessons. There were thirty-six different brief interruptions over five days in the classroom of these fourteen were Tasneem leaving for a short time, not more than a couple of minutes but often to converse with other members of staff. When I asked Tasneem about it she did not seem to notice it at the time but later on I

requested more details about it and she said that quite often she was ‘clarifying’ matters with other staff, most frequently Tasneem checked things out with staff that she trusted:-

“It's a bit of yeah clarifying so what I am thinking usually when I am thinking it is like a question so it's like (p), like the other day I was thinking do people judge other people by their values? I really needed to think it I really needed to talk if somebody is walking down and it is somebody like Kit, Delia. It'll be certain people, it'll be Kit, Delia, Sandra (P) nobody else. ‘Yeah hang on a minute I just need to ask you a question what do you think about such a thing?’(p). And then other times, the reason why that I'll go out it's because of leadership stuff. And I'll say you know I need to sit down with you and you know I need to discuss this through with you, when are we going to do that and might sort of expand out and say there are other issues, Lloyd has asked me to do this and that so there are two levels there.”

She comes to the conclusion that the triggers seem to be about wanting to be sure about matters but particularly when it concerns Lloyd as evidenced by her mention of the leadership ‘stuff’ a source of her frustration. She goes on to say that she checks things out with other staff a lot. This in itself may perhaps be problematic for her as a manager in this school, a ‘strong’ manager in the present setting seem to needs to present a surety, perhaps a very ‘masculine’ trait. The deputy head in passing the ‘problem’ of Taruna back to Tasneem, particularly in an aggressive way, is also distancing herself and highlighting that matters should be dealt with in the classroom directly and only at the last resort should they be passed up the command chain. This may be difficult for Tasneem who is constantly checking things out with other staff, not just as expressed in her interviews but by the frequency with which she is seeking confirmation. In this way the most accessible social knowledge is that provided by her close colleagues.

Towards the end of my visits Tasneem made some comments about reflecting as I was assisting her in a maths class

“There is less space on the timetable to reflect. It's all very rushed. There is always something that you have to do. In terms of planning in teaching, there's lots more hoops to jump through now. It is good to tighten up on objectives, structuring objectives and success criteria and link to evaluation. Though it is more prescriptive. If you deviate, you're doing something wrong.”

Tasneem's worries about very set ways of working, I had for instance noticed her ritually writing WALT and WILF⁶⁵ on the blackboard with a list of the proposed learning outcomes. No other reference was made to this and it wasn't discussed with the students but it did seem to indicate a use of an agreed procedure but that seemed the sum of it.

Tasneem therefore akin to Denise uses specific spaces in order to achieve a cathartic effect, however this last section shows that in her day-to-day practices, interestingly her reaction to her difficulties is about wanting to share the problem once she has done this either when at work with her colleagues or with her sister at home. Her own classroom seems to be a 'safe' space but even here she feels the need to check out matters with her colleagues and she frequently uses this social interaction to 'check things out'. Tasneem is willing to publicly acknowledge her 'faults' and being pre-occupied as we saw in chapter 5 with her sense of 'not fitting', there seems to be a desire to enact change. Thus, an early reaction is to try to provide a social response to her situation with Sandra or other colleagues and people with whom she had a bond. In this way, the construction of knowledge shows a social aspect and a connection where there is a level of trust. It seems useful to explore how this fares in other situations and in the earlier section we looked at a detailed account about how she was able to challenge Lloyd in a private meeting in the first space, to see how she is trying to cope with not fitting in and what the institutional pressures are. This suggests that certain institutional textual practices are unimpeachable and this necessitates the use of 'impure' practices in her work that will allow Tasneem to become made of stronger gold. The use of micro-interactions appear to offer her the chance to gain strength and surety much more so than any developmental processes on the part of the management.

⁶⁵The two acronyms WALT and WILT were short for We Are Learning To and What I am Looking For, the theory is that by children being clear about the goals and learning outcomes they can recognise and evaluate the skills and knowledge that they have learned.

7.4 MOVING TO EMOTION

7.4.1 SYNTHESISING RACE, REFLECTION AND EMOTION

As with the previous chapter it is necessary to centre the work on the problematic of the key informants. While there is great temptation on the part of the researcher to foreground 'grand' theoretical solutions of using reflection to examine race in education, this next section details the problems of researching the social and how the rich descriptions explicate (Campbell and Gregor 2002, p59) the relations in the setting. While this study did not set out to uncover new theoretical workings on reflection but rather to explore the potential for it to be transformative and while this appears as a given, from the work covered in chapters two and three, the realities are more complex. The "ontology of the social" is as Dorothy Smith puts it "modest" (2005 p52). Hegel's often used maxim, "The familiar is not necessarily the known." (Cited in Gardiner 2000, p1) supports this and provides an entry point for examining everyday practices, to see how for Smith "the realities of people's daily lives were beyond anything sociology could speak of" (1994, p54). The process of examining the micro, via the case studies, show how theory can be built from the ground up, rather than imposing from above.

Depicted in chapter three are how discourses surrounding reflection and race are positioned popularly in writing as having transformative potential. While this is not completely denied, meritocratic conceptions presents this as a top down one-way process. In this way, transformation in education can be seen as moulding pupils into fixed inanimate objects. Smith resisted this process in therapy and wrote extensively about how therapy contributed to her illness. It was due to a 'fault-line' in sociology which Smith criticised "the sociologist should never go out without a concept; that to encounter the raw world was to encounter a world of irremediable disorder and confusion" (1990, p2) which allows the imposition of theory rather than allowing it to flow from the data. Thus applying 'race theory' without an understanding of the cultures, history and politics of the groups involved has dangers. Tasneem felt this in the prejudices of the 'Asian' children towards their Somali classmates and tried to tailor her teaching to take this into account. Unable to explain the prejudices, she failed to move to a broader structural critique viewing

this as being down to personal aberrations. While an understanding of culture can be addressed through reading history or learning about practices without an examination of the power relations, a puzzle here is how East African Muslims have become constructed as ‘Others’ by South Asian Muslims. For myself too this was a key problem, in earlier versions of the literature chapters, I devoted much time and effort documenting Black struggles in the UK, probably creating tedious reading for my supervisors but this was a necessary act, as I slowly began to let go. I am grateful for their indulgence as writing assists the formulation of ideas and helping to discover that writing is “a method of inquiry” (Richardson and St Pierre 2005) . Researching this thesis has hopefully, allowed me to move beyond the simplistic application of flawed formulae. After the death of Stuart Hall at a Black feminist gathering in his honour (Ahmed et al 2014) the following statement was made

“Stuart’s ways of theorising diasporic flows, social systems of class inequality and neo-liberalism, or everyday visual economies of race and sexuality were an on-going and witty quarrel with determinism in its many forms. His lyrical insistence that it is a worked for and endlessly discovered connectivity, rather than an easy, organic commonality that we need to strive for, has been a backdrop and a steer for our racialised understanding of feminisms.”

Thus while the ‘ghost images’ of Marxism were present in which the simple equation prejudice + power = racism. I hope to be able to transcend these connections to arrive at a more nuanced understanding drawing on intersectionality, which is why I felt the need to draw on emotional labour in the next section and rather than seeing these concepts as being fixed or constant, acknowledges and takes into account their variation over time and in different settings.

While Tasneem was clearly concerned about race and equality, the stripping of ‘race work’ from her, in relation to agency suggests that results in her feeling less empowered than earlier in her career. Her primary problematic is a clearly personal one seen in her feeling of not fitting but not just in relation to race. There has been a gradual decline and while some may be attributable to her race work, she felt a novelty at the outset of her career and this has now subsided. Revealed in her language and the I-poem is how she has become excluded and to use her words “*does not fit*”, her identity as a female, Asian, Muslim professional for her now

seems to be on the wane. The move to a more managerial regime appears to have been the catalyst. This has come to the fore through an examination of her emotions as seen in the I-poem and the visuals of reflective spaces where she tries to trace the conflict between her personal and institutional values, this is outlined below.

7.4.2 NOT FITTING - A CONTINUING PUZZLE

The case studies have narrated emotion work and management of feelings that arose for the informants. While not envisaged, this presented an opportunity to trace social relations for the key informants. Tasneem, seen initially as confident, resulted in her 'losing her shine', as the battles with Lloyd result in her attrition, despite expressing that she is "not just adornment". Building on the research questions there is a need here to examine what are the shocks and puzzles that Tasneem faces on the way, how are they handled and how do the reflective spaces and places used by her. At this point of her career, while she felt valued and a part of the school earlier this is no longer the case.

T: and I don't particularly fit into any categories at this school
community (p)

R: *ok*

T: and I don't think I fit in anywhere, anywhere I go that's it

this 'confession' seems to be a plea for an external person to recognise her inner feelings and in an ethnographic study an additional aspect that requires to be made sense of. Institutions often undergo change when management shifts, either in terms of personnel or policy and the effect of these on staff may be indicative of changes in wider discourses or of the methods of individual personalities. Drawing further on the I-poem below

I don't really fit
I am finding
I never I have not
I don't fit in the community
I'm not part of the c..
I am
I mean the parents this school the intake (P) the catchment area
the area in which I live
I don't fit
I don't fit into any categories there

The message is unequivocal, there seems an additional estrangement from Tasneem's "community". She was clear that when she first qualified, having trained elsewhere she wanted to return, having missed the neighbourhood, friends and relatives to "*make a difference*". However, after fifteen years it seems that she has experienced inner changes leading to becoming dislocated. Her problems in particular seem to have come about after the arrival of Lloyd, prior to this

"They were **really** good the headteachers of mine (p). You know the way have made individuals feel (p), they wouldn't let me go because there were several times when er others, er there were there were other heads. There were times when ethnic minorities were in high demand, they're not any more (laughs). There's a lot in teaching now but I might have been in **mainstream**, I must have been the second in Conchester (P)."

The success and support experienced earlier in her career now appears to have vanished. In this quote, Tasneem's sense of belonging and being valued is more evident. In relation to the moments of race in chapter 3, whilst multiculturalism and anti-racism were in the ascendancy it was important to have a diverse teaching workforce, who are committed to and able to carry out interventional work on race and difference. Tasneem as a practising Muslim provided important visible evidence of this, given the catchment area this made her an asset. This is perhaps less important in post-race 'achievement' discourses where a colour-blind approach is prevalent.

The focus on 'achievement' is used to suggest that her alleged weaknesses make her unsuited to teaching. So, the puzzle remains as to why she still has important tasks to carry out in school, if her teaching was weak yet she is still allowed to take on additional duties, which in the view of both the NCSL and OFSTED she is able to perform successfully. The current management pressure and conflict seems to be the main influence in her feelings of not fitting. Tasneem's evaluation of her discussion with Lloyd about the veil shows that she feels that she is expected to subjugate her values not just on religion but also in how to 'manage'.

7.4.3 EMOTIONAL LABOUR IN THE SETTING

Useful here is the work of Hochschild who I drew on briefly in chapter five. Her book *The Managed Heart* (1983/2003) generated much interest in the field of education particularly in early years and primary focusing on care work in looking after younger and vulnerable children (Colley 2006; Howard and Timmons 2012; Vincent and Braun 2013; de St Croix 2013). Subsequently her work popularised the term emotional labour. Hochschild's work is applicable when three conditions are met. That is firstly where there is direct contact with customers (or in schools - pupils). Secondly, interactions result in a modification of emotions. Clearly, the work of learning mentors such as Denise fits into this category. This is also visible more indirectly in the whole school training where the 'comic strip' exercise is used to create 'belonging'. Finally, there is an organisational expectation of the desired emotions in the client. While in Hochschild's thesis this was applied to airline passengers, the use of SEAL is clearly an application in which the use of emotion management in children, often via therapy encourages children to behave in particular ways a theme developed by Colley (2006) in relation to childcare trainees.

Also central to emotional labour is how a strong social component is present in which "feeling rules" represent what emotions people should express and the degree of that expression according to their social roles" (Thedossius 2008, p16). Hochschild termed this surface and deep acting, in which actors develop strategies to elicit particular reactions in their clients and built on subsequently by Brook (2009, 2011), to suggest that there is a wider social reaction to this and that this offers opportunities for resistance at a collective level.

An example here is of Tasneem's experience of puzzlement that is about her personal situation. The interplay of this is observable in Tasneem's differing interactions with Lloyd and her peers where she preferred to be open about her doubts⁶⁶. In direct discussions with Lloyd he demands a stronger approach to management in which she does not reveal her perceived weaknesses. For Lloyd an unimpeachable quality of a manager is being direct and not allowing room for

⁶⁶ See I-Poem "I Said , He Said" (section 7.2.3)

debate about decisions. Given that Lloyd has asked Tasneem not to criticise him publicly this provides little opportunity for an open dialogue to develop and results in her drawing on social knowledge from her colleagues but this is to an extent covert. This can be seen in her micro-interactions (section 7.3.3) with them, while Tasneem simply sees this as, “checking things out”. This creates a dichotomy for Tasneem, which she finds troubling as she would prefer to be able to challenge directly. Her reflections as outlined in section 7.3 seems to focus on this personal problematic and contributes to her lack of self-belief. Thus her ‘surface acting’ as a teacher presents her as a consummate professional who is able to lead a complex mix of activity as she takes on the ‘effective’ teacher (Menter et al, 2010) mantle who leads lessons, training for the staff, pursues the NPQH and are a consequence of a power ‘game’. In which Lloyd’s subjective opinions of her are by design or default slowly removing her confidence and perceived areas of strength.

Where deeper ‘shocks’ emerge the recourse to reflection provides a cathartic space to allow thoughts to be gathered. There is little evidence that this generates critically informed action fed by research. For Tasneem in particular shocks and puzzles relate to her ‘dislocation’, evidenced in the I-poem via gender, race and religion. Her personal problematic, of not fitting, is further evidenced at an institutional level in an after school planning meeting (Section 7.2.2) where constant reference was made to Lloyd through the use of the third person and so the managerial ‘shadow’ whilst not physically present is clearly evidenced. While symptomised by humour this allows some semi-public undermining of Lloyd’s position. It also resulted in a display of ruling relations at the meeting in which responses were tempered into second-guessing what ‘his’, opinion might be. However, it also demonstrated resistance by the staff, showing how the use of the social networks provides Tasneem with support, revealing some of the conflict.

The setting shows traces of some of the organisational expectations of how staff are expected to behave. While Tasneem draws on her proximity to supportive colleagues and engages in micro-interactions in order to help her ‘check things out’ and this shows a valuable social construction of knowledge taking place, which in her case seems to give her succour, though it appears for Lloyd this may be a sign of ‘weakness’. In stark contrast to Denise, Tasneem’s recent experiences of

management are anything but supportive. While she was valued earlier in her career, presently she feels undermined by a new management team by being asked to hand over her middle-management responsibilities, including community cohesion to less-qualified staff, despite her external mentor's positive opinions of her, leading to Tasneem's views of herself as 'gold', needing to become tarnished as events proceed, to provide an inner strength.

Drawing on the modified I-poem "I Said, He Said" the power of examining the use of the subject in language to access viewpoints via the listening guide (Walby 2012), becomes clear and the extract below intimates a 'masculine' display of power in which challenge to authority is not permitted to be made publicly. Evidenced in the full poem also is the depth of feeling that Tasneem has of being pushed out, partly due to age but mainly because of her inability to fit with the new regime and it details the flows of power as Tasneem resists but also acquiesces to demands.

I should be able to say what

I think in front of you

he said that's OK as long as it is not in front of the other assistant heads

Revealed in this extract in the last sentence is the lack of confidence that Lloyd himself has in his own position, feeling that public criticism seems to undermines his position. These examples show how emotion provides an unexpected entry point for reflection and the next section delves deeper into this to link some of the policy to the reflection.

7.4.4. REFLECTIVE SPACE AS A SITE OF (IN)ACTION?

This social construction of reflection offers interested opportunities with which to draw on the work of Boud and Mezirow from chapter 2. Tasneem has at times a deep emotional engagement with the subject matter such as when she discusses the conflicting values between her and Lloyd. Rather than triggering direct action, Tasneem turns to social support mechanisms from her family and close colleagues for encouragement. If there are 'experiments' as Schön suggests, then they are limited to testing out ideas rather than action. Therefore the social knowledge that Tasneem has does is not used to examine the mechanisms critically, drawing on an

examination of the structural factors which surround problems. This it seems is out of Tasneem's reach. One of the key changes in the school is that there are now a number of additional support staff in the school, many of whom are from BME communities. As with Denise there is a divide and whilst it by class at St Botolph's, race is more evident at Queen's Lane. Tasneem states, she is no longer such a novelty. The use of the TAs and other staff began by the Workforce Remodelling (DfES 2002; OFSTED 2005) to rationalise and clarify the wide range of roles. This was criticised by (Gunter 2007) who suggests that it, "denies teachers the direct opportunity to restore legitimate control over their work". Carter and Stevenson (2012) see as it as a deskilling process, with a technicist application of NPM in education in which, "Traditional notions of equality then are being shaken up" (Ahmed 2007). This has changed the staffing but its effects on class and race have not been investigated widely in academic literature. Thus while Tasneem felt that

"I sometimes think oh well maybe they **wanted** maybe the leadership **wanted** somebody like me. So that it was a positive role model for the children I don't know, I'll never know I never ask them."

Someone 'like me' seems to indicate a call upon her own 'identity' and there is here an implicit use of Tasneem's religious and 'racial' identity in using the third person 'they', or 'the leadership' distances Tasneem from the management, who she currently feels unable to approach. There are now others, *'like'* Tasneem but with more subsidiary roles. There has been some evidence of addressing race equality in the recruitment of TAs through positive action. Whilst this may be laudable it introduces an interesting power dynamic. While the employment of HLTAs with enhanced qualification routes (Hammersley-Fletcher 2008) suggests some career mobility, for most TAs there is little opportunity to progress. Thus, the role models that may exist for BME children will not be the teachers but of support staff. The overall impact then of introducing TAs, a major structural changes has created a variety of divisions not just professional but also in terms of gender, race and class. Key to understanding Tasneem's puzzle of not fitting is that her function as a visible sign of diversity can be replaced. Also her additional 'function' of community cohesion co-ordinator has less currency than previously with a decline in the position of 'race'. Not least a consideration, is the economic reasoning behind NPM,

from chapter 3, which is seen as a method of producing savings (Fergusson 2000). Ball and Youdell point out how this has created “quasi-markets” (2007, p21) in education, reducing the power of ‘collective-bargaining’ as roles become more fragmented.

7.5 RETURNING TO RACE - REINVENTING CITIZENSHIP

Having examined in detail Tasneem and Denise’s situation it is important her to build on the backdrop of policy examined in chapter 3, which began the process of critiquing race policy in school that fluctuated with the moments. An entry point here is the conflation of difference with behaviour discourses, from chapter six.

The most visible vehicle for race equality since 2000 was within citizenship education (Citizenship Foundation 2003; Osler 2009) offering some opportunity for discussion and learning about difference. Noted in chapter three is how its reinvention attempted to develop work on belonging. Often problematic this has subsequently become stripped out and ‘dis-applied’ from the national curriculum (DoE 2013). Recently in response to the unproven Trojan Horse allegations (Kershaw 2014) Michael Gove sought a more acceptable form of “Britishness” (Garner 2014). Belonging, a concept that depends on acceptance and has various emotional components, is not created just through documentation. For Muslims and other communities it has become more complex, when schools try to accommodate cultural and religious practices and this is criticised by the education establishment. Miah states that OFSTED has an “implicit assumption that Muslims have sole monopoly over cultural conservatism”, (2014), creating a “suspect community” (Kundnani 2009, p8). Implying that difference is only ‘tolerable’ within certain parameters. However as Young notes with regard to gender, what is required is “*a way of thinking about women as a social collective without requiring that all women have common attributes or a common situation*” (1994, p723). The opportunities for teachers to learn about difference and intersectionality, involves negotiating the spaces of difference not to subsume difference but to come together. It is not clear how this takes place, particularly as critical spaces and resources disappear. It is not likely that more rigid applications of agendas such as PVE will allow this to take place, with its focus on Muslim communities creating further distancing and new ‘others’ in a racial positioning (Ikemoto 2000, p306) though, as CRT predicts

simplistic division can result in separation between different minority groups (Brown 2001, p417) . Therefore while part of a neo-liberal project ‘difference’ is viewed as being irrelevant, citing supposedly neutral ‘achievement’ discourses, the above discussion suggests that there is an implicit whiteness (Ringrose 2007; Gillborn 2009; Leonardo 2009) in policy with narrow confines about the degrees to which communities may ‘differ’.

The use of CRT from Chapter 3 is useful, how “convergence” comes into play, that legislative solutions are only enacted to give the appearance of equality, where liberalisation of statutes only takes place when white elites benefit (Bell 2005; Morfin et al 2006). This can be seen in reports how ‘other’ groups such as white working class boys (Gillborn 2008, p59) are also seen to underperform. This produces a majoritarian story that inequality is everywhere, removing the ability of individuals to act in a targeted way to tackle discrimination. Whilst the most vociferous demands were produced by teachers steeped in critical pedagogy, now dismissed as a blobocracy⁶⁷, in relation to difference, its disappearance in ITE, discussed in chapter 3 provides little theoretical analytical opportunity for new teachers.

I stated earlier that in order to understand race that the ghost images of Marx are present in the equation

$$\text{power} + \text{prejudice} = \text{racism}$$

A simplistic application suggested that pointing out a common experience of exclusion would bring about unity. This however depended on the location and composition of power, which saw it as an object to be held. The developments in post-structuralist writing following Foucault, produced more complex

⁶⁷ Dismissed as a Blobocracy by Michael Gove - * A blobocracy is a system wherein foreign bodies are caustically digested and diffused long before they have a chance to become effective or to make waves. See (Shapero : 1971)

conceptualisations of power. IE is interested in the way that language may be used to construct ‘ruling relations’. Documentation on race monitoring was largely absent in the hey-day of anti-racist teaching. We can see from Ahmed (2007) and Bolloten (2012, p38-9) how race and difference has become bureaucratised. Thus the “doing the document” (Ahmed 2007) has greater importance in terms of school practice and is part of an ‘audit culture’, from Strathern (2000), rooted in an NPM approach to ‘managing’ equality. It strives to produce more ‘streamlined’ practices and this can be seen in the publication of the guidance on duties DCSF (2007), which marked a movement to a more ‘integrated’ approach which tried to link a range of ‘differences’ together and to rationalise the ‘equalities’ agenda as the different bodies merged into the CEHR⁶⁸. This illustrates the tensions around being able to ‘manage’ equality, in that there is a lack of clarity about the systems and the organisations that have responsibility have been downgraded. Also, questions emerge over how to do this effectively taken up by Osler and Morrison (2000, 2002) and suggests that its removal leads to a colour blind approach. David Cameron (2012) has dismissed equality monitoring, paradoxically as ‘red-tape’ and thus a barrier to ‘efficiency’.

The shocks and puzzles around race that exist for teachers now have procedures such as ‘racist incident monitoring’ forms in place. This provides a ‘virtual’ method for reporting but there is a lack of clarity about how action can take place and communitarian problems such as integrating Somali and South Asian children are not necessarily addressed. Whilst both Denise and Tasneem see the possibilities of ‘community’, the practicalities of this such as Tasneem’s puzzle of how to integrate the Somali community are unlikely to receive little attention. As it is not clear about how it fits into learning, except when it relates to ‘harassment’ that is to be monitored and is a focus of the community cohesion duties (DCSF 2007). Thus, agency in relation to race has limited practice opportunity for teachers in respect of communitarian approaches. Multicultural practices, once resisted, have become part of the school calendar such as Black History Month but as seen earlier in chapters six and seven, these focus on ‘celebrating’ difference and provide little opportunity for teachers and children to analyse conceptions of race. In mathematical terms,

⁶⁸ Commission for Equality and Human Rights

equations work consistently when the elements in an equation are constant. However, both prejudice and power are in motion, the first is a cultural construct and the composition and nature of power varies according to whether it is personal, political, cultural or social. Thus the (im)possibility and perhaps (in)stability of racism is less clear when these elements are viewed as variables.

Whilst communitarian projects (Lentin 2011) are driven in a desire to change systems, ‘anti-anti-racists’ are critical of ‘majoritarians’ whose chief aim is not to upset followers. The development of anti-anti-racists (Lentin 2011) from both the right and the left on the political spectrum, “raises important questions about the possibility for autonomy from paternalist control in the construction of radical anti-racisms” (2008, p313). At its most basic state-sponsored anti-racism involves mouthing platitudes and staging events that fail to allow more complex debates. In this way “everyday racism” (Essed 1991) becomes passed off as an aberration or irrational act rather than the product of wider social forces. This makes it easier in school settings to be dealt with as a behavioural issue than one that requires educational dialogical remedies. Thus the lack of clarity in the documents about what constitutes ‘difference’ results in a conflation with discourses on bullying which in schools is often seen as primarily a behavioural issue. The social setting of the school provides much emphasis on ‘performance’ that glosses over ‘difference’. This represents a stepping back from the RRA (2003) which set a duty on schools to ‘ensure’ equality. While multicultural events provide visible evidence of work there is no examination of how effective they are in producing harmony, relying on a process of osmosis rather than clear dialogues about how ‘difference’ becomes constructed and is accommodated in policy.

7.6 SUMMARY

7.6.1 FINISHING TASNEEM’S STORY

This chapter has produced a rich examination of the setting. It is of course possible to read the data in different ways but the use of the I-poems and the examination of Tasneem’s emotions signify a seemingly waning personality who still has much to offer. The use of the contrapuntal voices (Walby 2012) has shown that in trying to achieve ‘imperfection’ to acquire toughness, she has to battle against a patriarchal

management as evidenced by the poem “I said, He Said” showing traces of race, age, gender and religion. Disclosures of problems are viewed as weaknesses, instead of offering exploratory avenues for career development. When she tried to criticise management directly, this was discouraged as it challenged notions of strong leadership. Her more inclusive and open approach is clearly viewed as a failing, lacking the required surety. Sandra found the observation process ‘judgemental’ making staff feel ‘defensive’. The slow removal of Tasneem’s responsibilities and denial of access to training can be seen as an application of ruling relations. There is little encouragement or support for Tasneem to develop through management and thus she turns to the social interruptions which offer succour. This from the team meeting seemed to be the case for most of those present. Thus, for Tasneem reflection can only be a palliative, her shocks and puzzles become shared only socially or are internalised as she has little autonomy when she is viewed as underperforming

7.6.2 RETURNING TO THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

I will begin this summary briefly by stating that in this thesis the notion of objectivity in research (Denzin and Lincoln 2005), has been critiqued. I refute the possibility of there ever being a completely distanced approach, in which the data is seemingly put through a ‘neutral’ process of analysis and the extent to which this is desirable seems questionable. This has been commented on by Gewirtz and Cribb who concerned with appeals to separate out knowledge production from knowledge use, suggest that this is not possible

“As researchers, according to Hammersley’s model, we can do our fieldwork and then retire to our offices to write it up, insulated from the demanding world of practice, and safe in the knowledge that the difficult decisions about what should be done are the responsibility of others and not us.” (2006, p146)

This came to play in the critique of NVIVO which seems to lead to a predilection for Grounded Theory a mechanism for refuting researcher bias (Oktay 2012, p119). While Pillow asks, “Whose story is it – the researcher or the researched?” (2003, p176). I have found in the process that the result is in fact, neither resulting in a synthesis. Without my life experiences, entwined in an auto-ethnographic process

(Clandinin and Connelly 2000; Riessman 2002; Holman-Jones 2005; Bathmaker and Harnett 2010; Taber 2010), it is quite possible that reflective practice and race would not be scrutinised to the degree that they have been using visual methods. What has emerged is a highly detailed empirical account of two school sites with a focus on two practitioners.

These two chapters have put the differing elements of this thesis to work as it moves towards a synthesis of the themes. In particular, it has addressed questions six and seven.

6. To what extent do they (educators) draw on notions of reflective practice to support their responses?

7. How do they construct the notion of reflective practice, and what are the key influences on these constructs?

An interpretive analysis undertaken using qualitative tools has allowed me to examine question 8

8. How do these experiences influence the nature of their future practice in relation to issues of race and identity, and other aspects of difference?

Central here, is a critique of Schön's work on reflection that suggests shock and puzzlement trigger reflection for professionals. As I discussed in section 2.4 Schön does not clearly define shock or puzzlement. His implication, repeated here from Chapter 2 is that if a work-related problem falls outside the current experiences of a practitioner, they

“make sense of it, he (sic) also reflects on the understandings which have been implicit in his action, understandings which he surfaces, criticizes, restructures, and embodies in further action.” (1983, p50)

For Schön then the process of puzzlement occurs when an unexpected experience, a ‘not-knowing’ occurs and causes the individual to try to make sense of it by drawing on previous experiences, to seeing how it may be adjusted through a critical process. The emphasis for Schön is on the action, while the thinking, drawing on Polanyi (1967) is ‘tacit’, suggesting that it is innate.

However this chapter shows that the practice for informants in this study, there is rather a predilection for using reflection in a cathartic vein, a more therapeutic form, drawing on the emotions and feelings of the participants and it is this, rather than

enabling mechanistic action as suggested by Schön that predominates. Then moving to an analysis of how policy backdrops contribute to this and importance of the interplay of social knowledge achieved by drawing on a comparison of the experiences of key informants in the two settings to tease out the problematics (Smith 1987, 1999, 2005, 2006). In IE examples such as the family (Hicks 2009) and mothering (Griffiths and Smith 2005) are seen as take for granted normative concepts but with the application of texts these produce everyday practices which often co-ordinate to form ruling relations. In the same way Schön's use of shock suggesting a triggering of action ignores wider social knowledge and how with respect to race this inhibits practitioners from acting. Here normative conceptions of reflection suggest that it provides a critical means of teacher enquiry have been critiqued.

Presented here are narratives of two enthusiastic practitioners who are determined to 'do the right thing', much the same as thousands of colleagues spread around the country, their application to the work cannot be faulted. Whilst they suggested that they were interested in reflection and race, this study has demonstrated the degree to which multicultural work still prevails, particularly in primary education settings. Reflection is applied but it seems for emotional release and succour, aided firstly by family and friends rather than in creating a dialogue with informed individuals of groups or developing critically informed knowledge. With regard to conceptions of 'race knowledge' which is drawn on, is not critical practice informed research or 'theory' but an amalgamation of policy initiatives and shared social knowledge which has been made available to teachers in packs and through training, with little recourse to 'grand' theory. The examination of power relations through the application of CRT with the use of IE to connect institutional discourses rooted in the day-to-day has revealed how there are strong social forces in school settings which permit a sanitised version of difference in which 'harassment' is not 'tolerated'. Key here too has been the use of emotion both from Hochschild and of its application in accessing the informants' problematics. However, there seems little opportunity for clear intense dialogue that examines how these differences are intersectional and overlap with their own identities. In this way the possibilities of understanding difference through interaction between "theory and practice", another facet of RP and the possibilities of producing conceptions which are temporally and

socially situated seems limited. The ‘safety’ and privacy of the reflective process prevents emotions from being shared professionally and yet it is this that has potential to provide access to the deep discussion about how difference is formed and needs acting on. Tasneem’s reactions to the boy who ‘wasn’t brown enough’ provide a powerful way of initiating a discussion about difference, drawing on her ‘shocks and puzzles’. However, when she led the school training she felt compelled to foreground the community cohesion ‘rhetoric’ when in fact her personal experiences may have provided a more compelling narrative. Conditioned perhaps, by the prevalence of ritualised standards and frameworks without which it appears that no ‘professional’ training is complete. This failure to develop praxis, resides in the way in which training about race and difference has become colonised by equality standards and targets rather than being embedded in the day-to-day experiences and dialogue. While the use of the comic-strip exercise showed commonalities and multicultural work provides emotional rewards in line with Hochschild’s ‘feeling rules’ the dangerous spaces in which difference reside are increasingly unavailable and untainted by deep critical analysis.

“There is light in darkness, you just have to find it.”

(hooks 1999, p3)

CHAPTER EIGHT

DISCUSSION

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This closing chapter summarises the key findings of the thesis and reviews the research process, explicitly it details the contributions that the thesis makes to knowledge. It provides recommendations for the development of reflective practice in relation to race. The chapter highlights some of the methodological innovations and briefly discusses problems. An essential part of any doctoral thesis is the foundation of the knowledge and a discussion is conducted on how uncertainty, an essential part of the research process, can be beneficial to it. The consequences of the ontological and epistemological stances taken in the research process are outlined, along with an examination of the limitations of the thesis. Finally, there is a discussion of my own development over the research journey

8.2 AN ORGANIC APPROACH



Fig 8a

8.2.1 MOVING TO A SYNTHESIS

In arriving at the last chapter, doctoral scholars are expected to produce a synthesis of the multiple components that make up a thesis. In many ways, this is a thankless task, by focusing on the minutiae of a particular aspect, taking up precious word counts that might be needed to expound on other equally important and compelling ideas. There is however, shortly a need to provide a thesis that is succinct, while achieving its primary function of presenting the contribution that the thesis makes to knowledge. In this I was inspired by the work of an artist Agatha Haines (Stinson 2013) she has as part of her work 'Circumventive Organs' produced new organs for transplantation in humans. While organ transplantation at this point focuses on replacing like-for-like, Haines was interested in how organs might be improved. To do this she drew on the animal world where organs offer functions not found in the human physiology. Supported by biological processes held in common, such as the lymphatic, cardio-vascular and nervous systems, she suggested that combination of functions found in the electric eel could be used to synthesise a new body part, the 'Electrostabilis Cardium' (Haines 2014) (Fig 8a.). A defibrillating organ that can discharge an electric current to the heart when it recognizes it going into fibrillation (heart attack), to treat people with arrhythmia where the heart needs support in producing regular shocks.

One of the first questions that arise is why would anyone 'invent' new organs, Haines shows how innovative new organs push back the ways in which bodily processes can be improved. (Stinson 2013). In this way, I too hope using the themes of empowerment, teacher agency and their relationship to show how shock/puzzlement in reflection, might become reconfigured. These are present already in education and presented as processes by which to improve not just delivery but also to increase social mobility. However this thesis has clearly outlined how the problems related to 'race' in education require not just simple transplantation of reflection as a transformative technique but how it meshes with the internal systems to create learning about gender, age and other types of difference as with Haines' invented 'organs'.

8.2.2 RAINBOWS AND MIRRORS

In the introductory chapter, I drew on some material from the start of my doctoral journey in which I discussed reflection. Reflection of light is a phenomenon that emanates from the properties of rays on glass and I referred to ghost images, produced by a thin veneer of silver. The application of a silver film to glass is what causes the light to bounce back as a reflection. In the two data chapters the notion of reflection being one of bouncing back ideas can perhaps be viewed as an internal one or it can be an outward social one in which our ideas are tested by others. With the presence of others, while ideas can be bounced back individually, more often they can be from a completely different viewpoint depending upon the relationship that one has with others and the perspectives that they hold.

I describe briefly in chapter 2 how in social work and youth work settings reflection with others take place via the process of supervision (Tash1967). In formal education while there may be some interaction it is usually less formalised. Thus Tasneem 'checks things out ' with her colleagues. To build on another process from the physics of light rays, they can also be 'refracted'. This process takes place again when light travels into a substance such as glass and causes the light to bend as it passes through the glass and disperse into different wavelengths, This is seen most spectacularly when the transparent medium is a prism and is often depicted with a rainbow which emanating from the other side of the glass. Different media such as quartz and diamond also refract light but provide differing degrees of refraction with different results on the outgoing rays. The process of refraction in which light becomes broken into component parts allows for greater scrutiny of the elements that comprise the pure light, this is how rainbows are produced, allowing us to see the separate sections. For the informants in this study we have seen that reflection is not about moving to an automatic solution via hard silvering but for the informants requires safe spaces which allow them to cogitate and does not produce a 'pure' technical reflection but rather one which is largely untainted by academic critically informed reflection, populated more with social knowledge.

To develop this metaphor, hard silvering produces a reflection that gives a mirror image, which seems like but is not quite the same as the real object. Light hits the

hard surface of silver and returns ever-so slightly slowed down to produce a ghost reflection. The use of a transparent medium such as glass without the silvered surface slows the light right down, making it bend and split into different components. When Tasneem or Denise reflect it appears that they firstly seek safety and thus however scary or upsetting reflection is, this allows them to come to terms with the phenomenon, as they encounter the ghosts of the experience as they separate out the differing elements. Some are acted upon, others fade into the background but still linger.

The previous chapter showed how transformative reflection with regard to race gained a degree of certainty by the application of the 'race' formula. However, as with many equations the instability of a variable is a case when the equation fails to work. The usages of terms of power, prejudice and racism have all shifted. Therefore the meaning of 'transformation' scrutinised in detail in chapter three using Escher's 'Waterfall' to outline how fluid conceptions of social constructions can be. While flattened two dimensional images may suggest possibilities; higher-dimensional (de)constructions demonstrate their (im)possibility. The process of refraction, as light splits up, allows for the examination of different wavelengths of light, in this way detailed reflection of component parts puts competing elements such as prejudice and power to task.

Power earlier, was seen as something to be wielded but the work of Foucault (1980, 1984) and feminist authors such as Butler (1993) have shown the capillary nature of power in which shifts are engineered by our relationship to knowledge and identity. There is a real commitment amongst the education professions to counter prejudice. This was clear in the use of the Hands exercise with the learning mentors (chapter 6). However, by seeing it purely as an add-on, the opportunity to examine the understanding of the group was silenced, as was their desire to explore the connections between 'community', belonging and difference. In this way, the process of reflection about race is becoming subject to 'hard-silvering', 'ruling relations' (from institutional ethnography) as part of a direct policy transmission which favours centralised standards and performance.

When social knowledge is used, rather than individual reflection, there is an opportunity to examine how the more communal collective ‘refractive’ methods may build local knowledge, drawing on differing perspectives taking on emotion and feeling as well as standards and duties in order to create more colourful tints and hues of practice to deal with shifts in streams of concepts. This more organic process enables a broader examination of how they might be transplanted into the ‘body’ of practice in a holistic fashion, meshing more seamlessly with internal systems and emotions to enhance the whole organic body of education.

8.3 CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNOWLEDGE

Central to entry into the academy is a consideration of how the doctoral thesis contributes to knowledge. This does not necessarily require ‘new’ findings, in this section, I will highlight four important areas from the findings and offering methodological advancements.

- My work contributes to the literature critiquing Schön’s work on reflection-in-action, which has been shown to neglect social knowledge here. In regard to race and difference this has particular importance as the role of emotion is not acknowledged, having implications for his suggestion that shocks and puzzles trigger ‘action’ a facet that has much appeal for supporters of ‘practice’ over ‘technical rational’ knowledge but with race in this thesis may block or delay ‘action’
- An examination of the material experiences in the workplace, building on ‘puzzles’ shows that critical spaces around race and difference have become reduced and subject to greater control, thereby limiting the agency and understanding of teachers, ushering in a post-race colour blind approach
- An innovative method of analysis evolved from the “listening guide” (Walby 2012) has been extended to examine tensions of gender, race and age using poems as a means of ‘data display’
- The use of NVIVO as a qualitative means of computer aided analysis suited to handling large data sets has been called into question, due to possible flaws in the coding process

8.3.1 SHOCKED INTO ACTION?

One of the key research questions was how shock and puzzlement as put forward by Schön acts as a trigger. In chapter two I outlined how Schön's epistemological proof of reflection-in-action has been called into question. ((Fenstermacher1988; Gilliss1988; Gilroy1993; Greenwood1993; Eraut 1995; Bengtsson1995; Ixer1999; Newman 1999; Erlandson 2005, 2007)

Schön suggested that for professionals, an encounter with a shock or puzzles triggers an automatic problem-solving process, in the heat of practice, he calls this reflection-in-action. It draws on innate practitioner experience that generates solutions that 'work'. This he differentiates from 'technical rational' knowledge a product of 'higher learning' that Schön suggests are dominated by universities (Schön 1983, p34). This has much appeal however while the key informants experienced puzzles and shocks, sometimes in relation to race, this did not generate action.

An examination of the social through participant observation and interviews in the empirical work carried out, shows that puzzles and shocks do not act as an automatic trigger and when informants moved to reflective spaces, they used these as places of safety. For them the emotions generated could be quite traumatic, requiring catharsis and rather than turning directly to colleagues they discussed problems with friends and relatives bringing personal social knowledge sometimes in preference to 'professional' knowledge.

While Schön's work resulted in the popular adoption of RP in many professions, it has neglected the social contexts of practice. While this may vary across disciplines, particularly in the human and caring sciences, this thesis shows that critiques of social construction have become undervalued and are unexamined.

Denise turns to sanctioned work on emotion, seeing it as a panacea. This unexpected application of emotion showed how it comes to play in education settings and for Denise allowed her to deal with the 'trauma' that she dealt with, more perhaps in relation to class than race but which she found valued by her school. For Tasneem

more complex puzzles such as, the boy who was not ‘brown enough’ and the separation between Somali and South Asian children persisted and remained in her psyche. Thus it appears that reflection is not merely ‘in-action’ but endures after the event and although commitment to equality is evident perhaps teacher agency is less so and while producing emotional ‘signals’ there is limited opportunity to reflect and act on these. This implies that more support, with time, networks and communal spaces for reflection may allow tangential unpicking of the emotions and experience to build understanding.

8.3.2. THE TAMING OF RACE EDUCATION

In the opening chapter I began with the puzzle of what happened to pro-active work on race, later with reference to the literature in the third chapter I outlined the development of the ‘moments’ of race, in chapter eight I connected this with the evidence from the sites to develop a material analysis of the texts.

A qualitative research process with immersion in the field gave access to rich experiences and provided an examination of the material experiences of the two key informants to produce data dialogues in the two previous chapters. This drew on institutional ethnography to demonstrate the way in which race in education has become ‘tamed’.

Outlined in the I-poem, was how Tasneem felt that her professional identity had distanced her from her community and simultaneously that she was failing also as a teacher due to the pressure of being observed, resulting in her feeling cast out. She feels that her ‘moment’ has passed, whilst her personal identity as a practising Muslim held some currency as a visible sign of diversity, the move to colour-blind achievement discourses seems to have removed her cachet.

This meshes with the arguments from chapter 3, which outlined how during the second and third moments resources and spaces were created which allowed debates on difference. These moments also provided guidance on how to produce race work which meshed with the curriculum; addressed issues of teacher as well as pupil inequality; and was an important fixture both in ITE and in ongoing teacher

education. These have now disappeared, displaced by the focus on effective teacher identities (Menter et al 2010)

Particularly for Denise, the textual guidance providing in education settings offered little opportunity for active work on race, being more concerned with monitoring. This led to a conflation of work as part of a behaviour management rather than a critical learning process. Although both key informants are keen to develop work on race, there is a prevalence of multicultural ritual performance evoking themes of simplistic belonging. This shields difficulties, such as how to work with difference and is exacerbated by the amalgamation of differing equality bodies, effectively diluting active race work; there are less resources and networks for advice; and equality has been removed from the Teacher standards (DoE 2011).

For professionals hoping to seek clarity, the removal of critical spaces which fuelled active work in the earlier ‘moments’ of race has compounded their confusion . Tasneem ‘fitted’ earlier when these active debates took place and this was visible in her participation in the ACT work. While earlier protests have led to the introduction of legislative protection, drawing on CRT, this has stunted the dialogue suggesting that the ‘limits’ of equality has been reached through bureaucratic measures, although anti-racist rhetoric (Lentin 2008, 2011 2012a, 2012b); and documentation (Ahmed 2007; Bolloten 2012) is incorporated. Since the high watermark of the RRA (2000), the introduction of first equality standards (DfEE 2001) and then duties (DCSF/DCLG 2007) although speaking the language of equality, has become hemmed in by a more bureaucratised application of NPM to race and equality work, blunting enquiring teacher identity (Menter et al 2010) with regard to race.

The focus on ‘meritocratic’ achievement discourses too, ostensibly improves results for ‘all’ but can increase white privilege (Gillborn 2008, 2009), compounded by calls for Britishness to be part of the curriculum (Garner 2014). This is particularly problematic for Muslim communities who as part of a ‘suspect’ community (Kundnani 2007) see this tied to the PVE agenda (Miah 2013a, 2013b) further complicating notions of belonging. Thus race work while seen as potentially transformative has become subject to more surveillance, faced large reductions in resourcing and with the application of ‘achievement’ discourses returned to a post-

race ‘colour-blind’ model which sees race as irrelevant, mirroring Tasneem’s decline in stock. The presence of sanctioned multicultural performative work provides emotional rewards, using devices such as music evoking a passive ‘belonging’ and thus gives an impression of ‘diversity’ without tackling more complex questions about structural racism.

8.3.3 POETIC ANALYSIS

As a novice researcher, I have learned much about the use of language over the course of the thesis. I did not understand the nuances of hermeneutics and the use of the listening guide has been revelatory in generating I-poems(Gilligan et al 2003) in order to provide a starting point for entry to an informants views. Having elicited very rich data from my informants, the extension from the first person as they voiced others seems a natural progression.

Tasneem’s narrative in particular produced an internal dialogue as she situated herself by her use of ‘he’ to represent Lloyd and thus by proxy that of the institutional forces present in the setting. Although not seeing herself as ‘just adornment’ with pure ‘gold’ being too malleable, she sought to reinvent herself in more ‘imperfect’ form. This is in reaction to her decline, which coincided with Lloyd’s arrival and is evident in the I-poem (Chapter 7).

The use of poetic analysis has certainly extended my interpretive repertoire. It follows clear analytic process by drawing on cycles that appear in the interview as the informant guides me through her version of events (Walby 2012). This however is not a literal act but one in which linguistic incongruence occurs (DeVault 1990), Wright defines this as showing how

“unarticulated experience and the way in which people manage the incongruence of everyday speechwith the expectation that the hearer will understand what they are trying to get across.”
(2009, p147)

Thus, the I-poem as a device enables silences to become ‘amplified’ by removing extraneous information to focus on how the informant places themselves in their text. The deployment by Tasneem of Lloyd in her speech, shows how gender, age

and religion come into play as his masculine style of management contrasting with her previous head-teachers, who were much more supportive.

This proved to be a powerful means of unpicking the ruling relations in the setting, their intersectional nature and was evident also at an arts' planning meeting. It demonstrated how the social practices were embedded in day-to-day interactions. Thus the combination of observation, visual elicitation and narrative analysis to unpick the 'contrapuntal multiple voices (Walby 2012, p6) unveiling power, using a critical informed interpretive process has had a significant impact on the thesis.

8.3.4 NVIVO - LEVELLING THE LANDSCAPE - EXPLORING THE PEAKS AND TROUGHS

An additional analytical methods finding relates to the growth of CAQDAS, as a means of storing analysing large datasets that has been and put forward as an efficient solution to the ethnographer's dilemma. Detailed in chapter are some of the problems with using software for the processing of data, a perennial issue. Malinowski (1960) and Mead (1943) both created enormous amounts of data, as did members of the Chicago school (Deegan 2001). Replacing manual systems for coding and retrieval with computers seem to offer a simpler and more efficient way of examining the data.

Drawing on the visual material in particular showed how coding and 'memo-ing' used in NVIVO as a short-hand for interpretation can skew data as the lines between codes and researcher interpretation are increasingly blurred. I detailed in chapter five how NVIVO produces numerical representations by using content analysis to highlight instances of coding. Thus indiscriminate coding, supplemented by coding of user-generated texts such as memos or researcher descriptions of visuals may become skewed if attention is not paid by researchers in the process. In-vivo coding, in its original form, drew on the terms used in interview texts to create informant-generated codes and was dependent on original material from the research sites. The extension of coding to additional types of data has dangers, although offering more material for analysis, questions about the mechanism for their coding are not being dealt with.

A key problem with software is how the rapidly changing versions offering increased features but mitigate against a detailed examination of exactly how the software produces representations such as graphs, bar charts and other increasingly complex and often convincing visual illustrations. While offering attractive methods of re-examining the data using sophisticated displays, chapter five showed how their basis on content and word count lose their ‘hard scientific’ credibility, once the malleability of the data from coding is demonstrated. NVIVO, was originally developed, as a tool for researchers who were interested in grounded theory (Coffey et al 1996; Bong 2002; Blismas and Dainty 2003; MacMillan and Koenig 2004). While this is acceptable for researchers who wish to use this method of analysis, the interpretive methods that are set in the software result in a predilection for this approach by drawing attention to patterns and regular occurrences. Less common events, may fail to attract scrutiny. Researching the metaphorical mountain from chapter five will produce a picture of the hollows and troughs but not how their historical formation and the purposes that the ‘natives’ of the landscapes have put them to.

The use of computers with large capacities suggests that with additional possibilities for coding it is possible to create digital simulacra, in an attempt to recreate research sites in a virtual fashion. However my critique suggests that the process of ‘quantitising’ the data leads to less meaningful analysis being applied with coding being carried out for its own sake rather than to produce insight. For supporters of narrative analysis it is important to tell the composite stories that are embedded in the research setting and to look at how actor relationships are present in language and material experience. While earlier social scientists sought to compete with positivism in trying to emulate a distanced and objective stance, the use of how power flows through texts and institutional practices from IE and CRT, have shown that while practitioners strive to develop initiatives on equality, forces in the education workplace limit and control the agency that they feel they have. Particularly for Tasneem, this results in her declining status, illustrated by drawing on her emotions in a deeply interpretive process. This account is unlikely to have emerged via an unquestioning use of NVIVO, a trend that Janesick dubs “methodolatory” (2000). Using multiple methods from interviews, participant observation, the use of the visual and I-poetry has provided access to this rich

concealed account and more holistic relationships rather than the flattened landscape offered by computer analysis.

8.4 THE UNCERTAINTY OF STEEL

“When one admits that nothing is certain one must, I think, also admit that some things are more certain than others.” (Russell 1947)

As I arrive at the ‘summit’ of the thesis it is time for me to consider whether the epic journey that I set out from at the base of my personal mountain all those years ago offered the best route that I could have taken. I use the term ‘best’ not necessarily the quickest, the most convenient or the most ‘efficient’. The process of entering the academy is not smooth and to gain the status of a scholar, it is necessary to be able to show the toughness of steel and not perhaps just that of the ‘impure’ gold that Tasneem felt that she needed. To take this metaphor further, while gold may possess a shine its utility is mainly as jewellery. Whilst it is a good electrical conductor, its strength for industrial purposes, is less useful than steel. I hope too that like Tasneem my work is not merely ‘adornment’.

While the demands of producing ‘novelty’ and ‘making a contribution’, central qualities for a doctoral thesis have been a challenge, in research the ‘shine’ of ‘novelty’ is more than a displacement of fashions but involves a detailed critical explication of how particular techniques and stances are the most suitable. Thus central to research, is the power of the knowledge that it seeks to create. Just as in steel production, the replacement of the successful Bessemer convertor with oxygen injection could only take place as the technologies became available. In research, in modern times, the predilection with opposing positivism began with the emulation of the hard scientific, as part of the Enlightenment, even though narratives had as long a history. Their use to promote ‘folk’ wisdom failed to meet the standards of positivism as the ‘scientific’ modernity became set. The requirement for ‘proof’ and tangible material evidence, to meet Enlightenment standards in seeing ‘truth’ and with it certainty became central to the knowledge creation process. However, the development of post-structuralist and post-modern writing on research has led to what Savin-Baden and Major term the “uncertainty of wisdom”, (2010, p1)

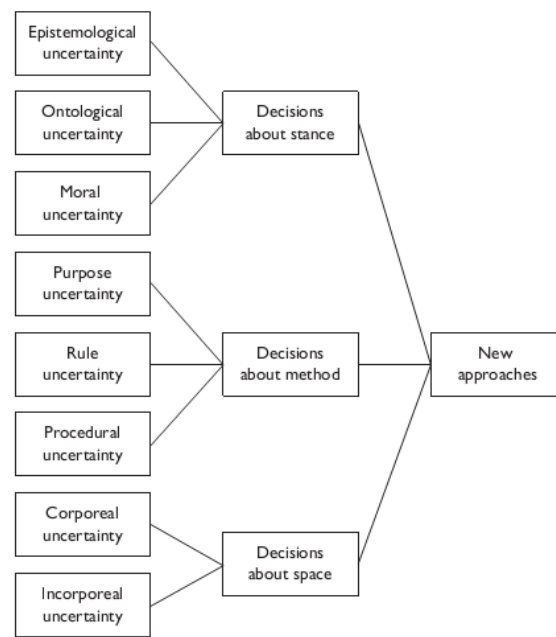


Figure 1.1 Taxonomy of wisdom and uncertainty in qualitative research

uncertainty that I have given less consideration than other areas. There is not space to debate this here but while for some morality implies doing no harm often termed, non-maleficence (2007, p58). I have chosen to take a critical stance in my outlook, I do not offer a neutrality, which I take to be unachievable and which demands action. For institutional ethnographers and critical race theorists ‘ruling relations’ are ever present in the setting and thus uncovering the ideological foundations of work practices require a critical approach. This runs as a counter to neo-liberal arguments about education (Giroux, 1988; Aronowitz, 2000; Apple, 2001; Swadener et al 2009) which through the use of language suggest that neutrality favours ‘neither’ side but as seen in this thesis in relation to race, results in structural barriers for BME pupils.

The process of research uses ‘novelty’ to uncover these underlying forces, traditional methods such interviews which take the text literally as spoken by the informant can miss the extant power relations. Whilst earlier Marxist critiques were very useful in uncovering how class and race were intertwined (Rex and Tomlinson 1979; Sivanandan 1980; Troyna and Hatcher 1992; Mac and Ghail 1992) along with other ‘types’ of difference, this led to the formulation of the ‘race equation’. Its fixing, with a move to certainty, neglected conceptions of power and prejudice, which affected by political, economic, social and cultural aspects of culture over

They provide a list of eight possible ‘areas’ of uncertainty, listed here and how as ‘components’ of uncertainty, differing aspects may offer more or less importance. Without this analysis the notion of ideology which I touched on in chapter 3, and offers solutions to many problems in education but can present ‘dangerous’ moral dilemmas, an area of

time have become transformed. The deployment of rights, demanded by activists once set into legislation changed power relations and notions of ‘prejudice’. This destabilised the ‘race equation’ setting in motion the work of CRT activists who found class-based work too deterministic as conceptions of difference and with it ‘unity’. Simplistic notions of ‘false consciousness’ (Torres 2013, p105) failed to reflect the complexities of alterations in cultures and thus how ‘prejudices’ and with it power shifted.

In the earlier sections of this chapter I detailed the findings, producing an unequivocal air that brings some seeming finality to the research process however while my research has captured a moment in time, it does not make claims for other moments and different research subjects. Using Savin-Baden and Major’s taxonomy (2010) provides a useful foil for thinking through my researcher formation, arguing that uncertainty is key in leading to innovation. Thus the use of reflexivity is a powerful tool as Day warns that in qualitative research

“What we “see” in our qualitative investigations must thus be reflexively thought of as “what we think we see,” questioning the basis upon which we have made this interpretation.” (2012, p64)

Focusing on race in this thesis, a seemingly fixed biological category, delineated by skin tones, bone sizes and skull shapes, in the Enlightenment, as a categorical approach fell out of favour as ‘culture’ rather than genetics, began to be seen key to conceptualisations of race. The changing lenses with which race is viewed require reinterpretation and the use of the methods to suit and a shift in the ‘technologies’ used for examination. The decline of biology while possibly licensing ‘post’-racism, suggesting that racism works ‘both’ ways but as Hall warned the “biological referent is never wholly absent” (2000, p223), suggesting that uncertainty has much utility. Earlier Tasneem was valued for her diversity work, this no longer is the case. Her support for the veil and her concerns about difference now casts her as an outsider for her manager, who foregrounds the effectiveness discourse through a subjective perception of supposed weaknesses in her teaching methods. The interpretive method of the I-poem amplifies the emotion that Tasneem feels in being pushed out.

The work on emotion in this thesis has revealed how changing formations of difference are present in the workplace. While work on equality is now supposedly ‘embedded’ in the curriculum and monitoring as part of institutional practices, the bland multicultural work produced in schools is less likely to produce radical questioning. The deployment of supposedly neutral ‘achievement’ discourses at the same time, perpetuate inherent power relations and impose whiteness (Gillborn 2008, 2009). These can only be critiqued by complex analyses that examine how language and texts embody control through ‘ruling relations’.

CRAFTING KNOWLEDGE

I discussed in chapter four about seeing research as a craft Prasad states that this, “involves disciplined creativity that results in a tangible and well-made product” (2005, p7)

It is not a simple manufacturing process but one demonstrating an awareness of the intellectual traditions (or perhaps ‘genres’ - Weissberg and Buker 1990; Paltridge 1997, Bennett 2001; Swales 2004; Borko et al 2008) surrounding the thesis which are not static and

“are constantly being created and passed on by communities of practice” (Prasad 2005, p17)

in this way qualitative research in contrast to pre-set positivist work is not 'fixed' but fluctuates as conditions and the environment change. In social worlds Weber (1968), details the differences between *Naturwissenschaften* that lead positivism looking for direct causality and *Geisteswissenschaften*, which pays close attention to the hermeneutic process to provide multiple interpretations. The crafting of knowledge depends on Flyvbjerg's work separating *techne*, *episteme* and *phronesis* which differentiate knowing in science. The process of this thesis has enabled me to refine tools with which to interrogate social settings in minute detail, requiring a deep criticism of methodological theories and methods to reveal what Thomson suggests are the “blank and blind spots” (2012) which without the application of uncertainty would remain hidden.

The reinvention of reflection as reflective practice by Schön captured much of the *zeitgeist* of the latter part of the twentieth century, dovetailing with events such as

the Ruskin speech (Callaghan 1976) which moved to situate education as an engine for economic success. Bringing with it the promise of tacit 'practice knowledge' provided an authentic certainty for the time which it was conceived, in contrast to the technical rational knowledge supposedly produced in higher education (Schön 1983, p39). In this thesis however, the promise of practitioner reflection has been critiqued, especially in education, its widespread adoption has been shown to be wanting. Particularly as teacher education is returning its craft traditions with greater dependency on local practice knowledge with the addition of overarching standards, policies and duties resulting in greater centralised control. Reflection without critical, collective examination is dangerously too close to therapeutic introspection and thus brings with it not action but sublimation.

8.5 PROBLEMS, PROBLEMATICS AND LIMITATIONS

8.5.1 CRITICAL REALISM

This thesis takes a critical realist ontological stance (Bhasker 1993, 1997; Collier 1994) which views that there is a 'real world' independent from perceptions that reality and that the epistemological position in which that the understandings are developed depend on the perspective of the researcher. In order to make claims about knowledge the use of materialism allows the reader to trace writing back to events (see chapters five, six and seven). Thus the reflexive approach taken in writing this thesis is an essential aspect which demonstrates possible flaws in its conceptions and is subject to the personal and social influences that I hold.

I state clearly that this work is not an ethnography though it respects ethnographic 'principles'. There are of course differing standards of what constitutes an 'authentic' ethnography. The field of ethnography is a broad one and in relation to education and other professional, the use of naturalistic settings has much promise. (Hammersley and Atkinson 1992; Pole and Morrison 2003) However, the methods are not entirely naturalistic, involving dialogue with informants and this can result in a modification of behaviour as actors see the interrogative process in action and may adjust their views. The influence of critical realism sits well with institutional ethnography which persists in critical questioning not just about how can claims be

made from the data but about the process of analysis and to ensure that the nature of the fieldwork relationships are questioned in order to examine power relations.

8.5.2 THE PROBLEM OF THE PROBLEMATIC

It is important to pay attention to the hermeneutic process, in traditional interviewing the process can be seen to be artificial, the use of participant observation is helpful in identifying the problematic, a key element of IE. (See chapter 7). The theoretical framing of the work using CRT as well as IE too has been complex. While CRT is compatible with IE (Ranero 2011) the conceptual work of this has received little attention given the need to examine the process of reflection in education. Both CRT and IE are concerned about the use of ideology. The former sees white privilege as shoring up inherent power relations through ‘absences’ (Yosso 2006) and the latter began with patriarchy to develop a more nuanced Marx influenced analysis which suggests that the process of reification takes place as the ‘ideal’ become seen as material (Allman 1999, p35) resulting in corporeal consequences. The focus on the problematic is one that provides entry to the informants’ perceptions of what is troubling them and thus can be seen materially, even if the mechanisms are not physically visible.

Pole and Morrison point out the confusion between methodology, such as CRT or IE in this thesis, and method in ethnography (2003, p4) and it is important to clarify this. The influence of IE in this thesis depends very much on a focus on the material and to use methods which develop this, drawing on what people relate about their lives. With this thesis focusing on reflection, essentially an ideal concept, using visual elements to draw out experiences of reflection from spaces is an interpretive method. Using texts as a means of analysis is dependent on interpretation and an important part of IE. Texts in IE are discursive, not just consisting of documents, by focusing on practitioners and working with the researcher as they encounter practices to identify the ‘problematic’, which Smith sees as being key. It is however dependent upon being able to unpick the complexities. This process can be viewed in Tasneem’s view of herself as not fitting, where the I-poem offered an entry into the relations of age, gender and class. This could be simply seen as being ‘alienated’ in the simpler commonly-used Marxist sense (Allman 1999, p39) as economic and

political stringencies result in her disempowerment, removing control over her labour power, though this has been critiqued widely elsewhere. However, drawing on her personal negative experiences of therapy. Smith produced a more complex approach with which to examine ideology (2005, p217) which draw on the use of language and in particular ethno-methodology from Bakhtin (1981) building on Garfinkel (1967), put to use here in the construction of I-poems (Gilligan et al 2003), where the subtleties of race, religion and age as well as gender emerged. The tools for this have required innovation that while applied via the 'listening guide' need greater conceptual work for which there has been insufficient space.

8.5.3 SAMPLING

A key limitation of this study is the small scale of the fieldwork, being carried out in just two settings. However in order to offset this data was gathered from a number of the actors in the setting with differing statuses and to draw on texts (not purely documents) but also textual practices through observation. An adjunct of this is the sampling strategy that could be seen to be non-existent, being dependent on self-referral and thus the key informants' experiences of reflection and/or race may well provide accounts, which are sympathetic and more active than had they been approached at random. However, the use of IE does not take a naïve realist approach in which the informants' accounts are taken as an authentic un-moderated account. Rather a process of 'active' documentary analysis takes place by observing how policies are enacted by individuals and groups, joint open interrogation through interviews and to examine how race/gender and other aspects of identity come to play. Given that this study does not seek to produce replicable findings or prove simplistic cause and effect, which might be part of a more positivist study, it rather focuses in minute detail on the micro-events.

The aim of IE is a modest one, it does not try to 'explain' rather it is 'explicatory' commenting on the flows of power, describing and offering interpretations of ruling relations, trying to locate traces of mechanisms in the practices and documents that inhabit the work landscape. This is a complex task and cannot ever be total as some elements may remain hidden. In this study, the work on race used policy documents over a set time span and these practices have subsequently altered. This shows the

messiness and uncertainty, from the preceding section of this chapter which inhabit the landscapes of practice and how the ‘mountains’ peaks and troughs are subject to erosion and movement as the ‘tectonic’ plates move.

8.6 THE PEAK IN SIGHT

The journey of discovery that has taken place has as I arrive at my ‘peak’ been one which leaves me weary but the precipices and gorges that I have encountered and struggled with have given me a much more holistic understanding of how these landmarks have been formed, their purposes and the possibilities that they offer. There are three key recommendations that I would like to make. Two relate to the main themes of the thesis race and reflection. The final one is a methodological one which builds on the creative process which I hope that this thesis embodies.

8.6.1 REFLECTION AS A SOCIAL, EMOTIONAL AND CRITICAL RESOURCE

This thesis has provided a clear critical analysis of the notion of reflection-in-action, drawing on the literatures and also through empirical examination. While shocks and puzzles may emerge, they do not automatically generate a problem-solving process. The use of ‘innate’ artistry draws not necessarily on just the technical aspects of practice but in education, relies heavily on the social knowledge available in the situation. Critical reflection thus is dependent not just in what takes place in the moment but also requires an examination also of both of the orientation of emotions and the power relations that are present in the setting, though neither appears to have mechanisms for this at present. The former, drawn on in nursing and health has become neglected in teaching with a focus on the teacher as a transmitter of knowledge. The latter requires theoretical material analysis to help uncover the complexities of the situation.

Schön’s work as it has become articulated, suggests that ‘theory’ is irrelevant due to the innate, unexplained expertise. This is resulting in “practicism” (Usher et al 1997, p129) and while possibly this produces serviceable ‘solutions’ offers less

opportunity to develop more holistic and critically informed knowledge. Schön also casts reflection as a solitary activity when in fact there is clear evidence that practitioners are working with others.

My work in chapter three, shows that teachers' abilities to provide critical analysis particularly on race have been downgraded and that without this the 'enquiring' teacher identity is limited. While the theory/practice divide in teacher education is popularly presented as a stark choice (Zeichner and Conklin 2005, p647), in relation to active work on race, most of the changes only occurred when political pressure was applied through collective action. (Chapter 3) Latterly the practice of race education has become nullified as a radical site for intervention.

The provision of mentoring in schools whilst offering possibilities for reflective practice, has become allied with an assessment role providing difficulties for more holistic handling of reflection and in revealing doubts about practice. It is also a site of much social transmission and the extent to which this is shared with others for 'refraction' as well as reflection is not clear. While the individual cathartic process seen in the key informants in this thesis seems required for 'restitution', more time needs to be available for communal 'open' reflection. This offers greater opportunity for work to build on emotions and feelings as advocated for by Boud and Mezirow. This offers research possibilities on a process I term 'co-reflection' that destabilises power relations offered by official one-to-one mentoring and draws on peers to explore the social knowledge in a less hierarchical fashion and may provide broader opportunities for exploration of emotion.

8.6.2 CRITICAL SPACES FOR RACE AND REFLECTION

Particularly evident in the empirical work is the lack of critical space for educators to be able to examine and understand issues around race. Outlined in the literature is firstly the demise of work in ITE and its withdrawal from professional continuing education. Followed by the closure of electronic resources, such as Multiverse and Teachernet (Flinders 2011) after the Coalition. Given the fluctuating nature of race being allied to culture without detailed continuous scrutiny as differing

(re)formations of difference emerge it is unlikely that teachers will be able to develop methods to engage groups and tackle difference with clarity in schools.

When training offered opportunities for more discursive examination of race as in the hands (chapter 6) and the comic-strip (chapter 7) exercises, supported by external trainers the participants engaged well and were able to examine notions of belonging and difference, exhibiting openness, tolerance and a willingness to become involved in dialogue. The removal of local expertise, held as part of advisory or school improvement teams leaves a gap in practice support.

It is essential that new networks and forums be established for providing support for work on race and difference. While organisations such as the citizenship foundation exist, there are no organisations actively developing work on race at a national level, engaging in dialogue with policy-makers.

8.6.3 INTERPRETING WITH I-POEMS

In relation to methodological recommendations, the development of the use of visual elicitation has been a really, powerful experience and assisted me in accessing richer data than I would expect from a more traditional interview situation and also by ceding control of the cameras to informants has provided access to spaces that would not normally be available.

My awareness of using grammatical and linguistic techniques from the listening guide developed from ethno-methodology has been revelatory. Drawing on the texts from interviews it has allowed the unpicking of the informants narrative in a discursive way. Highlighted in the previous section is the lack of conceptual foundation of this linguistic work in this thesis. As a novice researcher while the I-poem initially seemed to be a Shamanistic practice, having applied the work, it really brought home to me the ways in which we can both reveal and conceal ourselves in linguistic practice. Even though the process is one that draws on the unconscious it provides a really creative method of data display drawing on artistic methods to depict hidden flows of power as seen in “I said, he said” poem.

Having presented the work at a conference on emotion (Patel 2014) and been very positively received, I would suggest that applying this method to emotion work is particularly well-suited and that the conceptual work be developed and also greater deployment of I-poems in research is undertaken to evaluate its potential as a hermeneutic process.

8.7 FINAL THOUGHTS

The completion of this thesis seems a misnomer, it is clear that further questions remain. However, the doctoral thesis in contrast to a research project is not just about the knowledge created but how its acquisition process shows criticality in its process. Given also that both of the key concepts race and reflection exhibit multiple complexities, along with the discussion of certainty above it is not likely that a doctoral thesis no matter how well constructed will close down and bring a finality to the discussions.

My initial faith in reflection as a transformative mechanism has taken quite a battering and showed me the problems of how set practices even when experienced positively need a detailed analysis to unpick how they are influenced by the setting and wider social circumstances. My journey has shown how the shifting foundations of knowledge are dependent upon social construction of settings and how these move even as ‘victories’ pass into action. The application of CRT, has been key in this and counters the notion that equality is dependent on legislative solutions. While individuals and groups have always felt disenfranchised, communal support through identity politics with associated activism provided a sense of purpose and belonging. However, whether this is best served by unified claims, is a moot point. Whilst specific objectives are made by activists, the secession of these does not lead to the ‘arrival’ of equality. Simplistic demands belie the complex ways in which identities are inter-locked and how difference is conceptualised.

My own introduction to ‘struggles’ took place at a particular time and place where ‘unity’ was seen as a way to gain access to ‘rights’ and ‘power’, however the fluctuations in these have not only legal and economic aspects but also require the application of social and historical lenses to notions of justice and inequality.

Outlined in the thesis are how the personal experiences that I have had in education and as a youth worker and an activist have been beneficial. This has to be tempered with questions about how transferrable this is for others and how they are relational.

The process of writing the thesis has shown the perennial necessity of constantly evaluating structures, work practices and the social circumstances. Crafting knowledge has stretched the limits of my thinking and its imagination. The conjunction of race and reflection with culture required very creative methods in order to produce narratives and to critically interpret empirical material.

While the process of reflection may possess potential as a transformative mechanism, its execution appears to have become nullified. When reflection becomes focused on technical improvement rather than to provide a more holistic critical examination of the process, it loses its 'transformational' potential, despite being labelled as such. The 'shock' of events surrounding race heightened by political struggles, present in literature, news reports and political activism have seemingly become quelled. Key to this is the denial of the role of emotion in reflection. Yet the innate nature of reflection that Schön posits, suggests an unconscious as well as a conscious knowing which is more likely to be present in emotion than in direct cognizant activity. At a time when 'discrimination' is more likely to be 'indirect' and thus less evident, in order to unpick events it is necessary to apply communal thought to how best to work with difference, due to its changing nature. While ostensibly there is evidence of greater 'tolerance', the practices which still bring about unequal outcomes in education, as well as other areas requires more nuanced investigation. The 'relegation' of race too is part of a set of contemporary circumstances which suggest that we have 'too much' equality (critiqued by Dorling 2012) as seemingly the minutiae of discrimination are cast as being irrelevant, with 'authentic' racism/sexism etc. seen as a relic of the past. The thesis detailed how transformation in education has through the promise of 'meritocracy' become measured by simplistic examination achievements rather than about a broader set of blunt outcomes, which neglects how 'achievement' is relative and is often subject to structural mechanisms which belay its supposedly neutral label.

The shift to situate race as an aspect of culture (Barker 1981) and not the biological, is one that moves it from the physical to the ‘ideal’ and as culture is a product of social as much as formal learning, when ‘disturbances’ occur they are embedded emotionally and their unpicking is dependent on communal dialogue. This was a clear element of identity politics that the learning was mediated socially in groups, thus if reflection can be re-claimed it requires the reinstitution of joint discussions and dialogue where emotions can be examined.

The elevation of the effective teacher aspect that Menter et al (2010) put forward, was set in motion after the Ruskin speech (Callaghan 1976) tying education to economic performance, increasingly positions teaching as a craft of transmission of knowledge and skills rather than one which also involves critique. Reflection popularised by Schön however suggests that the innate knowledge of ‘experience’ is sufficient. However Dewey warned without criticality that during reflection

“If the suggestion that occurs is at once accepted, we have uncritical thinking, the minimum of reflection.”
(Dewey 1910, p13)

The process of this thesis has I hope avoided this. What I realise now, is the depth of knowledge and debate that I was exposed to as a trainee teacher acquiring foundational knowledge. With an appreciation of history and learning theory; as a youth worker gaining skills in supervision and communal mechanisms; as an activist participating in political debate; more recently as a HE lecturer being reintroduced to deep critical theory; and the philosophical knowledge I am gaining through the process of this current thesis has contributed to this. Here, I am very much guided by John Dewey who warned about ‘uncritical’ reflection:-

“The easiest way is to accept any suggestion that seems plausible and thereby bring to an end the condition of mental uneasiness. Reflective thinking is always more or less troublesome because it involves overcoming the inertia that inclines one to accept suggestions at their face value; it involves willingness to endure a condition of mental unrest and disturbance. Reflective thinking, in short, means judgment suspended during further inquiry; and suspense is likely to be somewhat painful (...) to maintain the state of doubt and to carry on systematic and protracted inquiry — these are the essentials of thinking.” (Dewey 1910, p13)

Therefore, I understand now that the ‘torture’ of uncertainty actually drives enquiry and that while doubts, are seen by some, as weaknesses, they can be a strength for scholars in a changing world. While emotions can be dismissed as poor entry points, being very individual and thus subjective. The sharing of these with fellow professionals create small acts of belonging, realising that they are not just personal ‘puzzles’ but also prevail for others too and need to be brought into the open to examine the material influences which form a presence in the professional workplace. With multiple enquirers, illuminated by wider theoretical knowledge there is greater opportunity for critique and therefore informed as opposed to innate action.

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APPENDICES

- A1 ETHICS FORM
- A2 CONSENT FORM
- A3 ETHICS CHECK FORM
- A4 SEMI-STRUCTURED QUESTION SCHEDULE

- B1 EXTENDED I-POEM DENISE
- B2 VISUAL DATA FROM 'HANDS' EXERCISE

APPENDIX A

ETHICS MATERIAL

This appendix contains the material that was approved by the Education faculty ethics committee in 2008. The process of ethics has become much more detailed and the extensive time span of this study 6 years throws up issues in relation to ongoing ethical approval. With the primary data collection process having been completed by 2011 in this study, reading through the information shows that procedures have become more stringent with for example more detailed information being included in the participant information sheet. In my employment at De Montfort University this comprises of two sides of A4 in contrast to the single page that was required when I submitted to the process in 2008. There is no set format for a regular review of the ethics process, it should perhaps be part of the annual review.

The following documentation details the ethics process.

- A1. ETHICAL APPROVAL FORM
- A2. ETHICS CHECKLIST
- A3. PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET
- A4. CONSENT FORM
- A5. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Application Number.....

Date.....

(Sep 2008)



**MANCHESTER METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION**

APPLICATION FOR ETHICAL APPROVAL

Introduction

All university activity must be reviewed for ethical approval. In particular, all undergraduate, postgraduate and staff research work, projects and taught programmes must obtain approval from their Faculty Academic Ethics committee (or delegated Departmental Ethics Committee).

APPLICATION PROCEDURE

The form should be completed legibly (preferably typed) and, so far as possible, in a way which would enable a layperson to understand the aims and methods of the research. Every relevant section should be completed. Applicants should also include a copy of any proposed advert, information sheet, consent form and, if relevant, any questionnaire being used. The Principal Investigator should sign the application form. Supporting documents, together with one copy of the full protocol should be sent to the Administrator of the appropriate Faculty Academic Ethics Committee. (**Barbara Ashcroft, ESRI**)

Your application will require external ethical approval by an NHS Research Ethics Committee if your research involves staff, patients or premises of the NHS (see guidance notes)

Work with children and vulnerable adults

You will be required to have a Criminal Disclosure, if your work involves children or vulnerable adults.

The Faculty Academic Ethics Committee meets as necessary and will respond as soon as possible, and where appropriate, will operate a process of expedited review. Applications that require approval by an NHS Research Ethics Committee or a Criminal Disclosure will take longer - perhaps 3 months.

1. DETAILS OF APPLICANT (S)

1.1 Principal Investigator: (Member of staff or student responsible for work)

Name, qualifications, post held, tel. no, e-mail

Rajesh Patel MRes Bsc Hons PGCE

Part-time PhD Student (MMU)

Senior Lecturer Youth and Community Work (Liverpool JMU)

rajesh.r.patel@mmu.ac.uk r.r.patel@ljmu.ac.uk

0796 897 8556

1.2 Co-Workers and their role in the project: (e.g. students, external collaborators, etc)

Director of Studies Lorna Roberts PhD

Research Fellow

0161-247-2411

l.j.roberts@mmu.ac.uk

Co-supervisor

Helen Colley PhD

Senior Research Fellow

0161 247 2306

h.coley@mmu.ac.uk

1.3 University Department/Research Institute/Other Unit:

Institute of Education

Education and Social Research Institute

2. DETAILS OF THE PROJECT

2.1 Title:

The role of reflective practice in education about race, identity and difference.

2.2 Description of Project: (please outline the background and the purpose of the research project, 250 words max.).

Aims

- To identify how educators, in both formal and informal contexts, respond to issues of race and identity
- To establish the extent and nature of reflective practice within these responses
- To deepen understanding of how these responses inform educators' future practice
- To contribute to theoretical critiques of reflective practice through the application of critical theory

Reflective practice is widely held to be crucial for professional development and the improvement of teaching and learning both formal education and informal settings of youth and community work. This is based primarily on the work of Donald Schön, in which notions of 'shock' and 'puzzlement' are drivers for individuals to reflect on their practice.

However 'shock' and 'puzzlement' are not well defined, particularly with regard to race and difference.

Research questions

- Under what circumstances do issues of race and identity arise for educators, and how do they intersect with other aspects of difference?
- What are educators' perceptions of these incidents and how do they act in response to them?
- What experiences do they draw on in order to respond to these incidents?
- What situational factors do they perceive as influencing their responses?
- To what extent do emotions of shock and puzzlement shape their response?
- To what extent do they draw on notions of reflective practice to support their response?
- How do they construct the notion of reflective practice, and what are the key influences on these constructs?
- How do these experiences influence the nature of their future practice in relation to issues of race and identity, and other aspects of difference?

Describe what type of study this is (e.g. qualitative or quantitative; also indicate how the data will be collected and analysed). Additional sheets may be attached.

This will be a qualitative ethnographic study of teachers and youth workers. Data will be gathered by observation of educators in practice settings and interviews. Interviews will be digitally recorded, photographs will be taken of settings and artefacts such as posters produced by participants but not of young people or individuals. Interviews will be taped, the audio data will be transcribed and conversation analysis will take place of this data. It is possible that they may also be video recorded to allow for visual analysis of the participant in which case the data would be anonymised by the use of 'blurring'.

Policy material such as guidelines, information packs will be subjected to visual and discourse analysis.

2.3 Are you going to use a questionnaire? YES/NO/N/A
(Please attach a copy)

2.4 Start Date / Duration of project:

October 2008 - June 2012

2.5 Location of where the project and data collection will take place:

Schools and Youth Centres, North West, United Kingdom

2.6 Nature/Source of funding

Not Applicable

2.7 Are there any regulatory requirements? YES/NO/N/A If yes, please give details, e.g., from relevant professional bodies

3. DETAILS OF PARTICIPANTS

3.1 How many?

Up to 30

3.2 Age:

18 - 65

3.3 Sex:

Male and Female

3.4 How will they be recruited?

Through direct contact with schools and local authorities.

3.5 Status of participants: (e.g. students, public, colleagues, children, hospital patients, prisoners, including young offenders, participants with mental illness or learning difficulties.)

Education professionals. 2 teachers, 2 youth workers, 3 education managers.

3.6 Inclusion and exclusion from the project: (indicate the criteria to be applied).

There will be four sites two in schools and two in youth projects. A mix will be sought of mono and multicultural schools/areas. At least one of the interviewees will be of non-white origin.

3.7 Payment to volunteers: (indicate any sums to be paid to volunteers).

None

3.8 Study information:

Have you provided a study information sheet for the participants? YES/~~NO~~/~~N/A~~
Please attach a copy of the information sheet, where appropriate

3.9 Consent:

(A written consent form for the study participants MUST be provided in all cases, unless the research is a questionnaire.)

Have you produced a written consent form for the participants to sign for your records? YES/~~NO~~/~~N/A~~

Please attach as appropriate.

4. RISKS AND HAZARDS

Please respond to the following questions if applicable

4.1 Are there any risks to the researcher and/or participants?

(Give details of the procedures and processes to be undertaken, e.g., if the researcher is a lone-worker.)

Minimal risk to the participants. Possible stress may be induced in requesting information on ability to cope with incidences of racial harassment.

There is minimal risk to the researcher, only that associated with travelling to interviews. The interviews and observations will take place in public buildings such as schools and youth centres.

4.2 State precautions to minimise the risks and possible adverse events:

All participants will be given details of support groups and on legislation connected with reporting incidences of harassment via the information sheet. In particular material relating to policies of the organisation will be drawn on to provide appropriate guidance.

4.3 What discomfort (physical or psychological) danger or interference with normal activities might be suffered by the researcher and/or participant(s)? State precautions which will be taken to minimise them:

During observation the researcher's presence may cause participants colleagues, minimal discomfort. However, this is expected to be less stressful to being observed by others such as OFSTED inspectors, peer-reviewers etc. Full explanation will be given to participants to explain the purposes of the research and on the information sheet.

No physical interference will take place.

5. PLEASE DESCRIBE ANY ETHICAL ISSUES RAISED AND HOW YOU INTEND TO ADDRESS THESE:

A range of ethical issues may arise.

While the focus of the research is race as well as reflective practice a number of researchers working on race have reported the reluctance of organisations to provide access to researchers just 'in case' inappropriate conduct is highlighted. In order to maximise access to subjects via gatekeepers it will be necessary to foreground the aspects of the research which refer to reflective practice in order to place the research within a schools/service improvement discourse which is expected to be more acceptable to managers.

Under the RRA 2000 all public bodies have a duty to promote racial equality. In the case where a researcher uncovers potentially discriminatory actions by an employee s/he would be obliged to report this to managers on completion of the research. While this may arise this could result in disciplinary action being taken against a subject and this could be seen as a breach of confidentiality. A statement covering this has been placed in the consent form. However public interest is served by the highlighting of possibly discriminatory activity.

Whilst the primary purpose of the research is not to expose discriminatory behaviour it is a possible occurrence and therefore requires examination. For schools in particular there is a risk element in allowing researchers access to participants due to potential damage from disclosure of unprofessional behaviour (Brar, 1992) (Walford: 2001, p30)

This then leads to a consideration of what constitutes informed consent. An important ethical issue is related to the level of disclosure required within the project about the race element of the research. In some situations mentioning race as a focus may affect the outcome as many schools and institutions see race as a sensitive area. the ESRC Research Ethics Framework (2005) suggest that 'covert research' can take place where "important issues are being addressed and if matters of social significance which cannot be uncovered in other ways are likely to be discovered". Instances will be reported to senior managers for action by the organisation.

While the research is not covert this justifies the foregrounding of the work on reflective practice. However this also underlines the need for strict anonymisation of the data. The focus of the study is on how reflective practice may enable practitioners to improve their practice in relation to dealing with race in education and learning.

As an 'insider' 'other' it may be possible that interviewees disclose instances of discrimination and racism to the researcher. This has been addressed above in section 4.2 (Egharevba, 2001)

6. SAFEGUARDS /PROCEDURAL COMPLIANCE

6.1 Confidentiality:

- (a) Indicate what steps will be taken to safeguard the confidentiality of participant records. If the data is to be computerised, it will be necessary to ensure compliance with the requirements of the Data Protection Act.

Any information pertaining to the research will be anonymised. Any digital data will be secured on a computer system with password access by the researcher only and kept in accordance with the data protection act. All files will be kept in a secure locked cabinet.

- (b) If you are intending to make any kind of audio or visual recordings of the participants, please answer the following questions:

- a. How long will the recordings be retained and how will they be stored?

Recordings will be kept for the duration of the project electronically on an independent pc. Physical recordings will be kept in locked cabinet.

- b. How will they be destroyed at the end of the project?

Papers will be incinerated, data will be wiped, recordings will be wiped.

- c. What further use, if any, do you intend to make of the recordings?

Any tape-recordings will be kept until the publication of the research and they will then be destroyed.

6.2 Human Tissue Act:

The Human Tissue Act came into force in November 2004, and requires appropriate consent for, and regulates the removal, storage and use of all human tissue.

- a. Does your project involve taking tissue samples, e.g., blood, urine, hair, etc., from human subjects? ~~YES~~/NO/N/A
- b. Will this be discarded when the project is terminated?
~~YES~~/NO/N/A
If NO – Explain how the samples will be placed into a tissue bank under the Human Tissue Act regulations:

Not applicable

6.3 Insurance:

The University holds insurance policies that will cover claims for negligence arising from the conduct of the University's normal business, which includes research carried out by staff and by undergraduate and postgraduate students as part of their courses. This does **not** extend to clinical negligence. There are no arrangements to provide indemnity and/or compensation in the event of claims for non-negligent harm.

Will the proposed project result in you undertaking any activity that would not be considered as normal University business? If so, please detail below:

No abnormal activity proposed.

6.4 Notification of Adverse Events (e.g., negative reaction, counsellor, etc): (Indicate precautions taken to avoid adverse reactions.)

Please state the processes/procedures in place to respond to possible adverse reactions.

In the case of clinical research, you will need to abide by specific guidance. This may include notification to GP and ethics committee. **Please seek guidance for up to date advice**, e.g., see the NRES website at <http://www.nres.npsa.nhs.uk>

SIGNATURE OF PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

DATE:

.....
SIGNATURE OF FACULTY ACADEMIC ETHICS
COMMITTEE CHAIRPERSON:

.....
DATE:

APPENDIX

Checklist of attachments needed:

1. Participant consent form
2. Participant information sheet
3. Full protocol
4. Advertising details
5. Insurance notification forms
6. NHS forms (where appropriate)
7. Other evidence of ethical approval (e.g., another University Ethics Committee approval)

REFERENCES

Brar, H. S. (1992) Unasked questions, impossible answers, the ethical problems of researching race and Education in M. Leicester and M. Taylor (eds) *Ethics, Ethnicity and Education* (London: KoganPage), pp. 188-213.

Egharevba, I (2001) Researching an-'other' minority ethnic community: reflections of a black female researcher on the intersections of race, gender and other power positions on the research process in *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* Vol 4(3) July 2001 , pp 225 - 241

ESRC (2005) *Research Ethics Framework* ESRC: London

Walford, G (2001) *Doing qualitative educational research* London: Routledge



ETHICS CHECK FORM

This checklist must be completed for every project. It is used to identify whether there are any ethical issues associated with your project and if a full application for ethics approval is required. If a full application is required, you will need to complete the 'Application for Ethical Approval' form and submit it to the relevant Faculty Academic Ethics Committee, or, if your research falls within the NHS, you will need to obtain the required application form from the National Research Ethics Service available at www.nres.npsa.nhs.uk/ and submit it to a local NHS REC.

Before completing this form, please refer to the University's Academic Ethical Framework (www.rdu.mmu.ac.uk/ethics/mmuframework) and the University's Guidelines on Good Research Practice (www.rdu.mmu.ac.uk/rdegrees/goodpractice.doc).

Project and Applicant Details

Name of applicant (Principal Investigator):	Rajesh Patel
Telephone Number:	0796 897 8556
Email address:	rajesh.r.patel@mmu.ac.uk / r.r.patel@lmu.ac.uk
Status: (please circle as appropriate)	Undergraduate Student Postgraduate Student (Taught or Research) Staff
Department/School/Other Unit:	ESRI
Programme of study (if applicable):	Ph D
Name of supervisor (if applicable):	Lorna Roberts
Project Title:	The role of reflective practice in education about race, identity and difference
Does the project require NHS Trust approval? If yes, has approval been granted by the Trust? Attach copy of letter of approval.	YES/NO

Ethics Checklist (Please answer each question by ticking the appropriate box)

	Yes	No	N/A
1. Will the study involve recruitment of patients or staff through the NHS, or involve NHS resources? If yes, you may need full ethical approval from the NHS.		X	
3. Does the study involve participants who are particularly vulnerable or unable to give informed consent (e.g. children, people with learning disabilities, your own students)?		X	
4. Will the study require the co-operation of a gatekeeper for initial access to the groups or individuals to be recruited (e.g. students at school, members of self-help group, nursing home residents)?	X		
4. Will the study involve the use of participants' images or sensitive data (e.g. participants personal details stored electronically, image capture techniques)?		X	
5. Will the study involve discussion of sensitive topics (e.g. sexual activity, drug use)?	X		
6. Could the study induce psychological stress or anxiety or cause harm or negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life?	X		
7. Will blood or tissue samples be obtained from participants?		X	
8. Are drugs, placebos or other substances (e.g. food substances, vitamins) to be administered to the study participants or will the study involve invasive, intrusive or potentially harmful procedures of any kind?		X	
9. Is pain or more than mild discomfort likely to result from the study?		X	
10. Will the study involve prolonged or repetitive testing?		X	

Ethics Matters

	Yes	No	N/A
11. Will it be necessary for participants to take part in the study without their knowledge and informed consent at the time (e.g. covert observation of people in non-public places)?		X	
12. Will financial inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants?		X	
13. Is there any possible risk to the researcher (e.g. working alone with participants, interviewing in secluded or dangerous)?		X	
14. Has appropriate assessment of risk been undertaken in relation to this project?	X		
15. Does any relationship exist between the researcher(s) and the participant(s), other than that required by the activities associated with the project (e.g., fellow students, staff, etc)?		X	
16. Faculty specific question, e.g., will the study sample group exceed the minimum effective size?			X

If you have ticked 'no' or 'n/a' to all questions, attach the completed and signed form to your project approval form, or equivalent. Undergraduate and taught higher degree students should retain a copy of the form and submit it with their research report or dissertation (bound in at the end). MPhil/PhD, and other higher degree by research, students should submit a copy to the Faculty Research Degrees Sub-Committee with their application for registration (RD1) and forward a copy to their Faculty Academic Ethics Committee. Members of staff should send a copy to their Faculty Academic Ethics Committee before commencement of the project.

If you have ticked 'yes' to **any** of the questions, please describe the ethical issues raised on a separate page. You will need to submit your plans for addressing the ethical issues raised by your proposal using the 'Application for Ethical Approval' form which should be submitted to the relevant Faculty Academic Ethics Committee. This can be obtained from the University website (<http://www.rdu.mmu.ac.uk/ethics/index.php>).

If you answered 'yes' to question 1, you may also need to submit an application to the appropriate external health authority ethics committee, via the National Research Ethics Service (NRES), found at <http://www.nres.npsa.nhs.uk/>, and send a copy to the Faculty Academic Ethics Committee for their records.

Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the University's Guidelines on Good Research Practice and any relevant academic or professional guidelines in the conduct of your study. This includes providing appropriate information sheets and consent forms, and ensuring confidentiality in the storage and use of data. Any significant change in the question, design or conduct over the course of the research should be notified to the relevant committee (either Faculty Academic Ethics Committee of Local Research Ethics Committee if an NHS-related project) and may require a new application for ethics approval.

Approval for the above named proposal is granted

I confirm that there are no ethical issues requiring further consideration. (Any subsequent changes to the nature of the project will require a review of the ethical consideration(s).) Signature of Supervisor (for students), or Manager (for staff): _____ Date: _____
--

Approval for the above named proposal is not granted

I confirm that there are ethical issues requiring further consideration and will refer the project proposal to the Faculty Academic Ethics Committee. Signature of Supervisor (for students), or Manager (for staff): _____ Date: _____

Ethics Matters

Separate page for ethical issues:-

Q4 - The study may involve the taking of photographs of participants' environments for visual analysis or of artefacts produced by them eg flip-chart sheets during training sessions. These will however not identify the location/identity of participating institutions. Photographs of participants will not be used.

Q5-6 – The study will involve discussion of race which is potentially sensitive dependent upon the experience/background of the participant. Support organisations will be brought to the attention of participants as part of the information sheet.

Ethics Matters

REFLECTION IN EDUCATION RESEARCH INFORMATION

The research project being conducted by Rajesh Patel, post-graduate student at Manchester Metropolitan University is to look at how the practice of reflection may aid the practitioner to deal with issues around equality in education. In line with good practice and to comply with the ethical frameworks of the University students are required to ensure that no harm takes place to research participants.

The study will involve observation and interviews with teachers, education managers and youth workers in practice situations and in training. Interviews may be audio or video-taped. If you feel uncomfortable with recordings you may prefer for the interviewer to make notes. You do not have to answer any question that you feel is inappropriate and may withdraw from the study at any time.

The interviewer may ask for permission to take photographs of the setting and artefacts for research purposes, these will not identify you or the school/organisation in any way. All data will be destroyed when the project is completed. All data will be kept confidential and will be seen only by the researcher, his supervisors and external examiners appointed by the University.

Any data that is used to for academic articles will be anonymised and not identify work situations or individuals. In accordance with data protection requirements you are entitled to copies of any electronic data that is stored pertaining to yourself. This can be provided on written request to the researcher.

Contact Details

Rajesh Patel
Senior Lecturer
Youth and Community Work
Faculty of Health and Applied Social Studies
Liverpool John Moores University
Kingsway House
L3 2AJ

E: r.r.patel@ljmu.ac.uk
T: 0151 231 8106/0796 897 8556
W: www.ljmu.ac.uk/HEA/ASC/74909.htm

8 September 2008

*In order to help cope with any problems, participants may wish to contact the commission for equality and human rights, (<http://www.equalityhumanrights.com>) or by telephone see contact details below if they wish to take further advice. A range of services are available for counselling are listed below should participants wish to take them up.

Equality and Human Rights Commission Helpline
Freepost RR—GHUX-CTRX
Amdale House, Amdale Centre
Manchester M4 3EQ
0845 604 6610

CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: Reflective Practice in Education

Name of researcher: Rajesh Patel

Please initial box

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated 8 September 2008 for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily. I acknowledge the risks associated with the study and they have been explained to me.

☐

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason or my legal rights being affected.

☐

I agree to take part in the study.

☐

As with any research process it is possible that participants may be asked to recall potentially stressful situations that have taken place these may include personal experiences of harassment or discrimination or inappropriate conduct towards others on grounds of race, gender, sexuality, disability, religion, age etc. In accordance with keeping participants free from harm if this causes distress I may halt the interview at any time*.

☐

Should participants volunteer information about illegal behaviour which breaches professional codes of practice this will need to be passed onto senior managers for action

☐

Name of participant

Date

Signature

*See additional information on the accompanying information sheet.

INTERVIEW SCRIPT

I will draw on Spradley to compose a script

1. Explicit Purpose
2. Ethnographic Explanations
 - a. Project explanations
 - b. Recording explanations
 - c. Native language explanations
 - d. Interview explanations
 - e. Question explanations
3. Ethnographic questions
 - a. Descriptive questions
 - b. Structural questions
 - c. Contrast questions

INTRODUCTION

My name is Rajesh Patel I am carrying out an interview as part of my PhD research at Manchester Metropolitan University into reflective practice and difference. As part of the interview process I will be shadowing four staff who work in education to see how reflective practice is part of their everyday life and to see how it relates to their work. I am going to explain the research process and talk you to about gaining your approval. This is known as ethnographic research, I am not testing any of the participants to see if they have the 'right' answer as with reflective practice different things work for different people. I hope to interview you today, will shadow you at the CAPE training event and if you are agreeable I will shadow you on about seven days over the next six months, followed by a final interview. As part of this I will record any issues where I feel that reflective practice is being touched upon.

If at any time you feel I am being intrusive you can withdraw from the research, you just have to let me know. I will respect your confidentiality at all times and at no time will I identify the institutions to anyone other than my supervisors. If I write any of the material up for publication it will anonymise the data so that the organisations and individuals can be identified.

I will record the interview today so that I can focus on allowing you to speak rather than writing things down as they go along.

I am not trying to test you or catch you out about what you know or do not know about reflective practice, neither am I an 'expert' I want to find out how you deal with it in everyday life. While this is a straightforward interview later on I may ask you to draw maps or sketches to help establish what methods you are using.

These are the permission forms I would like you to sign. (explanation)

If this is OK can I have your permission to begin the recording and the interview ?

QUESTIONS

Tell me about yourself, how long have you been teaching/mentoring etc ?

What motivated you to get into teaching/mentoring ?

Tell me what your role is in the school.

What is involved in your day-to-day work ?

Why is your job important to the school ?

What is your personal slant on what you have to do? What do you like doing ?

Are there any areas you find difficult ?

Do you feel that you are a reflective person generally? In what way ?

What do **you** think we mean by reflection in teaching ?

Can you describe what you think it might look like in practice ?

How, if at all does reflective practice or reflection impact on your work ?

Where have you come across it in training ?

In what way does social justice have a place in teaching ? Professionally ? In your organisation ? Why ?

Tell me how important social justice is to you and why ?

How if at all have you come across race/community cohesion issues in training ?

How if at all does it enter your practice day-to-day? At special events ?

I plan to shadow/observe you in practice do you feel any nervousness about this ?

How can I help put you at your ease ?

Thank you – do you have any questions ?

CAN WE AGREE SOME DATES FOR ME TO OBSERVE YOU NEXT YEAR ?

IS IT POSSIBLE TO TAKE A MOBILE NUMBER/EMAIL FOR CONTACT ?

APPENDIX B

DATA EXTRACTS

The material in this appendix is a longer I-poem which comprises all the material from a single interview with Denise.

Secondly the hands exercise (section 6. 2.5) produced some interesting textual data which has been summarised in a table here to show how the learning mentors produced counterpoints to the material enforced from the top-down by Erika

B1. I-POEM

B2. TEXTUAL STATEMENTS FROM THE HANDS EXERCISE

1 I-POEM DENISE
 2
 3
 4 I'm not a teacher
 5 I can teach beyond age sixteen
 6 I've been here at St Botolph's as a learning mentor for
 7 prior to that I worked at the health service
 8 I've got a part-qualification in counselling and my degree is in psychology
 9 when I worked at the mental health trust
 10 I became to really value and like that part of the
 11 I was made redundant
 12 well what am I going to do
 13 I need I want to do something with people and mentoring came into
 14 I thought that's an ideal role for me so
 15 that's how I came how I came to be here
 16
 17
 18 I was a nurse at the H children's hospital but
 19 I was only partly qualified
 20 I worked at erm a special school
 21
 22 *Interruption*
 23
 24 I can't guarantee a peaceful time
 25 I think actually getting mentors on board (p) and it's been amazingly successful
 26 I don't know if you've actually seen some of the feedback on it but you know you can probably research that
 27
 28
 29
 30 I honestly don't know and it's something I keep meaning to look into (p) how much of that is actually taught (p) on the BA
 31 or on the PGCE
 32 I don't honestly know (p)
 33 I mean that would be an interesting thing for us to
 34
 35
 36 I can't I can't honestly say but I would say that it is part of Loxley's policy i'd have to say that
 37 well I can't be quoted on that
 38 I would say yeah (p) but it's certainly high on the government agenda isn't it (p)
 39 I mean we've got loads of stuff actually going on which when we get deeper when we get deeper into our timetable for
 40 CAPE I can show you all of that
 41
 42
 43 for example I might do the school council
 44 and I do other things like the project the community cohesion that's part of it
 45 I can have I mean for example I've just done I did the travel plan for school
 46 I do child protection (p) Natasha actually leads child protection
 47 I mean it's hard to say off the top of my head
 48 any the other things I actually do but some of it will come up
 49 I think it's because it's an interest so I suppose you are used to your potential
 50 I've got an interest in that
 51 Natasha knows I like projects like that
 52 she knows I like the community cohesion
 53 I thought I'd love to do that
 54 you think ohhh I wish I hadn't said that
 55 but I like to do it

56 I think really
 57 I mean for example now the bells just gone now
 58 if you weren't here I'd go and make the toast ha
 59
 60
 61 I've just said because
 62 I think that erm (p) passionately believe (p) that children have to have that emotional intelligence before they can do
 63 anything they have to have that and
 64 I think it is crucial to schools
 65 I love being a part of it
 66 I love being a part of it (P) because I think that children erm are (P) such wonderful beings (P) such wonderful beings and
 67 they do so much
 68
 69
 70 I like working directly with children
 71 'cos I really believe it (p)
 72 I love working with them they amuse me (p) so much erm
 73 I mean like working with the older children here
 74
 75 I think (p) when you talk about reflection
 76 I hope I've learnt to deal with my own stress
 77 I do try
 78 I can't say I don't get stressed
 79 because I do
 80 I think I've got my own strategies to deal with it erm
 81 and that can be a huge stress (p) I mean if I am really honest
 82
 83
 84
 85 there's nothing I can do there
 86 what can I do to alleviate it but sometimes there isn't anything
 87 I think so I don't actually write anything down (p)
 88
 89
 90 I do and I use times that are available to me
 91 I reflect on my own practice a
 92 I learn from it
 93 err I watch other people
 94 I reflect on that
 95 I use times
 96 for example when I am driving to work in the
 97 I use time when I go home
 98 I love that forty minutes
 99 I do reflect a lot at home
 100 I think things through
 101 and I think how you know how am I going to deal with that
 102 what did I do wrong
 103 I'd say I am ok a very reflective person
 104 sometimes I'll sit on a Saturday when everybody is out
 105 I put some music on and I'll think then
 106
 107
 108 I talk to my husband because he's a teacher
 109 we'll kind of talk about situations and give each other advice and we reflect in that way (P)
 110

111
 112 I do actually the head is really brilliant
 113 we've got some really good members of staff who are good
 114 Kay Young who is our year five teacher I'll sit down with her and we'll reflect
 115
 116 I suppose because more it's more structured isn't it
 117 I think let's be honest it's much more relaxing to do it with somebody you know your husband for example or a friend
 118 I think there's got to be trust in it really (p)
 119 I think that's absolutely crucial
 120 is it really reflection or is it erm corporate reflection (laughes) I can't think of a better word for it really
 121
 122 I would sit in on senior management groups where there would be reflection as to what is happening
 123
 124
 125 *I love Yorkshire accents*
 126 I'm glad you said that I'm glad you said that
 127 I do actually I've got to say
 128
 129 training has
 130 *can you remember some of the things you looked at ?*
 131 I'd have to look at it again
 132 I'll root something out and let you know
 133
 134 *so in what way do you think it has a place [26 mins]*
 135 I don't know what what you know
 136 I think that (P) erm
 137 I think children ought to be ought to look at life globally
 138 I think they ought to do that
 139 I think we need to be very very accepting of every single other human being
 140 I think that we ought to look for ways to educate children along those
 141 I think that erm a lot of the stuff actually now that is actually erm coming through education and into the curriculum
 142 would be reflective of that
 143
 144 I've got to cite the SEAL¹
 145 I know we've got a long long way to go but what learning could take place from integration and from people being
 146 accepting there's huge learning there
 147 I think we are part of an institution
 148 I think it has got to be important to yourself
 149 I mean you've got to be real
 150 I think that's why I was interested particularly in this CAPE project
 151 I just have a look at the folder so I can see
 152
 153
 154 I go to CAPE
 155 I come back
 156 I say to Natasha this what we've done today
 157 I say you're welcome to that to see practically [
 158
 159
 160 I can't think (
 161 I have to be honest I can't think of anything that I think is a problem yeah yeah honestly
 162 I can't think (p)

¹ social and emotional aspects of learning

163 I have to be honest
 164 I can't (p) actually think that I've come across anything which has been a problem
 165 that I felt I couldn't
 166 I'm sure there have been times when I thought particularly er particularly around equality do you mean
 167 no not really I don't think so around
 168 I don't think so (
 169 I'm trying to think if we'd had an incident on the playground
 170 that's the only thing I can think sometimes
 171 the only way I can think about that
 172
 173 I won't even remember what it looks like
 174 I'll have to
 175 I'll have to think about that really
 176 I can't say I'll be completely at
 177 I'll get used to it from your you know you'll just be there
 178 I mean I'm not perfect and nobody is perfect
 179
 180 I bet
 181 I said to Natalie
 182 I'll do that I'll build the TAs up hard
 183 I found it quite hard I found it hard these are people I work with everyday
 184 I'm not a trainer or a skilled trainer
 185 I just needed to impart the knowledge I had
 186 I must admit they're great they're fabulous people
 187 I mean I knew I could rely on them to be funny and to join in
 188 I came out that morning
 189 I said to my husband
 190 how do I do this
 191 I just thought
 192 I'm not really skilled enough
 193 I didn't feel skilled enough to do it but as it turned out it was fabulous because (p) they were still good with me
 194
 195 eight or nine
 196 in my head I always don't include nursery
 197 I'm sure that's wrong thinking so we've got seven we've got seven TAs
 198 I suppose we have really (
 199
 200 I love it
 201 I like to because I somehow feel that's my own learning in development
 202 I somehow feel
 203 I know you learn everyday from children and you do you talk about reflective practice
 204 I mean and it's very broad but
 205 I tell you what
 206 I haven't half learned from these children because they lead it they
 207 their thinking actually sometimes(p) is more insightful than than your own
 208
 209 I suppose that's reflection in its broadest sense isn't it
 210 I said like K***** before you're sure his name won't be on there will it
 211 I knew instantly because
 212 I know K so well 'cos
 213 I've worked with K for three years so
 214 I know K as well as anyone can know him
 215

APPENDIX B2 HANDS EXERCISE DATA



Fig 6b



Fig 6c

STATEMENT DATA

RESPECT TOLERANCE	FAMILY	DIVERSITY/DIFFERENCE	RIGHTS/JUSTICE	SHARING
Respecting each other's views and opinions Respect Respect Friendship Friendship Friendship	Family involvement Families Parental involvement Families Getting involved	Diversity Difference Do we respect diversity ? Tolerance	Justice Responsibilities Rights	Shared values Shared vision Belonging Shared vision Sharing Shared vision Shared vision
COMMUNITY	EQUALITY	MULTI-AGENCY	EXPLORATION	MISC
A caring community. Creating a sense of belonging Raising community profile Belonging Social Building positive relationships Belonging Support Support Guidance Making all welcome and comfortable in school	Equality We are all equal regardless of race age, disability, gender, sexual orientation, class Equality Inclusion Equality Opportunities and access for all Open door school welcome to all Gender Equality	Multi-agency Working together Networking Working together Multi-agency Everyone is included ☺ Together Working together Multi-agency involvement in families joined up support Working together Team building Multi-agency work Working together Multi-agency Working together networking Working together Have we got a community plan?	Teaching and learning Learning Growing Identity Exploring Resolving conflict Understanding ourselves our own identity and accepting others Awareness Signposting Avoid discrimination Is our door open? A focus on what's going well solution focussed Appreciating and understanding everyone's differences Taking innovative changes and risks to be positive Awareness Links with other schools in the community Acceptance of each other Acknowledging and encouraging diversity Understanding	Communication Fun Commitment Working Without pressure Let's get started Unemployment Culture Own values – child's potential, child's learning, nurturing parents/teachers I love (heart) learning mentors Community cohesion Community cohesion Good communications Life opportunities Positive Life opportunity Signposting Opportunities

